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VOLUME XXVII

NUMBER 3

February 1930

MODERN PHILOLOGY

*A Journal devoted to research in
Modern Languages and Literatures*

THE UNIVERSITY *of* CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

MODERN PHILOLOGY

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN
MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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Modern Philology is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. The subscription price is \$4.00 per year; the price of single copies is \$1.00. Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Dominican Republic, Canary Islands, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hayti, Uruguay, Paraguay, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoa Islands, Balearic Islands, Spain, and Venezuela. Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada and Newfoundland, 15 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$4.15), on single copies, 4 cents (total \$1.04); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 25 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$4.25), on single copies 6 cents (total \$1.06). Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized agents:

For the British Empire, except North America, India, and Australasia: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4, England. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, £1, 1s. 6d. each; single copies, including postage, 5s. 3d. each.

For Japan: THE MARUEN COMPANY, LTD., Tokyo.

For China: THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LTD., Poochun Road, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, \$4.00; single copies, \$1.00, or their equivalents in Chinese money. Postage extra on yearly subscriptions 25 cents, on single copies 6 cents.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to The Managing Editor of MODERN PHILOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

The articles in this Journal are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals, New York, N.Y.

Entered as second-class matter July 13, 1903, at the Post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 15, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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INGELD

[To Francis A. Wood, on His Seventieth Birthday]

THE earliest references to the story of Ingeld are to be found in English monuments. In *Beowulf*, the Geatish hero of the epic is represented as making report to his king, Hygelac, upon returning home from Denmark. Among other things he speaks of the Danish king's daughter, and this leads him to tell of her unhappy betrothal to Ingeld:

Now and again the daughter of Hrothgar would bear the ale-cup to the champions, to all the warriors. I would hear the hall-sitters calling her *freawaru* when she gave the studded vessel to the heroes. She, young, adorned with gold, [is] betrothed to the gracious son of Froda: the friend of the Seyldings, the keeper of the kingdom, has made up his mind to that, and he reckons it a wise thing to settle, through that woman, a deal of strife and fighting. [But] it is always rare that the deadly spear rests idle any great while after a national defeat, however good the bride. The lord of the Heathobards, and every warrior of that nation, has good cause to take offense at what he finds when he [Ingeld] goes to the maiden, to the hall, to the warriors of the Danes, to the well-cared-for champions: on them [the Danes] gleam the hard ring-set heirlooms of their [the Heathobards'] fathers, the treasures which had belonged to the Heathobards as long as they could wield weapons and until they and their dear comrades fell in the battle. Then, at the beer-drinking, an old warrior speaks up, one who notices a [particular] heirloom, one who remembers everything, remembers the national defeat. His is a grim soul. Sick at heart, and guided by the promptings of his spirit, he begins to test the feelings of a young warrior, begins to stir up war, saying: "My friend, dost thou recognize the sword, the precious iron that thy helmeted father bore to battle for the last time when the Danes slew him, when the valiant Seyldings won the victory after Withergyld fell, after the national

defeat? Now here a son of one of those slayers comes to the hall armed ostentatiously, boasts of the murder, and wears the weapon which by rights thou shouldst possess." He urges and reminds thus, on every occasion, until the time comes when the maiden-thane, after the bite of the sword, sleeps stained with blood, having forfeited his life on account of his father's deeds. The other [the slayer] escapes thence alive; he knows the country well. Then the oaths of men stand broken on both sides. Thereupon deadly hates well up against Ingeld, and because of his troubles his sexual fires grow cooler. Therefore I do not reckon the loyalty of the Heathobards to the Danes as sincere, I think little of the alliance, I do not deem the friendship to be fast [ll. 2020-69a].

A number of details in this passage need discussion. I will begin with the *freawaru* (acc. sing.) of line 2022. This word is usually taken to be the name of Hrothgar's daughter. But no such name is recorded in the historical records or in literary sources, apart from the one passage now under discussion. Moreover, such a name as **Freawaru* would be distinctly out of place here; it does not fit in at all with the system of name-giving characteristic of the Scylding family, the members of which uniformly have names beginning with *h*. Again, in Scandian tradition the name of the lady has come down to us as *Hrut*, and this name, with its initial *h*, has every right to recognition as the true name of Hrothgar's daughter.¹ It seems clearly better, then, to explain *freawaru* as a title or epithet. The word means 'lordly (or gracious) awareness,' and is an example of litotes: the princess was more than aware of her guests; she was attentive to them. To be compared is the modern 'Royal Highness,' although *freawaru* has a particular appropriateness in the passage where it occurs, since the princess was serving her guests in person. A somewhat similar complimentary epithet, *friðusibb*, 'peaceful kinship,' is applied in line 2017 to Hrothgar's wife. I take it that the English poet referred to the princess by a complimentary epithet rather than by her true name *Hrut* either because he did not know what her true name was or because he thought 'sheep' too simple or even undignified a name for a princess and preferred to call her by a term of high-flown compliment.

The narrative, in lines 2024b-29a, 2032-46, and 2057-66, is recorded in a present which some interpret as a past (the "historical" present), others as a future. Both interpretations are grammatically

¹ See below, and cf. my discussions, *Literary History of Hamlet*, I, 84 ff., and *Klaeber Anniversary Volume*, pp. 150 f.

possible, but each is open to grave objections. Personally I am inclined to agree with Olrik¹ that Beowulf here was not indulging in prophecy but was telling Hygelac about things that had already happened. In lines 2029b-31 we have a proverbial expression, apposite enough here but thought of as of general application and hence put in the "universal" present. The *mæg* of line 2032 means 'has good cause to.' The *mid* of line 2034 probably means 'to' rather than 'with' (cf. l. 902, discussed by Kock in *Anglia*, XLV, 117). If so, Ingeld evidently goes to the maiden, goes to the hall of Hrothgar, as a bridegroom; he goes there to be married. That the action of the episode takes place in Heorot has been shown by Kock,² and that the princess in line 2034 is called *fæmne*, 'virgo,' surely indicates that, at that point in the tale, she was a bride rather than a wife.

Barnouw long ago pointed out³ that *fæmnanþegn* in line 2059 is a compound, and must not be taken as two words. What does this compound word mean? Since it occurs nowhere else, we can get no help from parallel passages. In my opinion a maiden-thane was a warrior who had had no experience in battle. Compare our modern *maiden voyage*, *maiden effort*, and the like. This meaning fits our passage admirably, since the reference is to the *byre*, 'son,' of a Danish *bana*, who is slain for his father's deeds, not for his own. The usual interpretation, according to which the thane was an attendant of the princess, seems improbable, for why should the princess, in her father's hall, have male attendants? We are further told that the slayer of the maiden-thane succeeded in escaping, since he knew the country well. Evidently it was Denmark, the enemy's country, that he knew well. Had he been at home he would not have needed to escape at all, of course.

After the maiden-thane's death "the oaths of men stand broken on both sides." First the Danes had violated the spirit if not the letter of the treaty by flaunting their spoils in the faces of the Heathobards, and by boasting of their slayings. A young Heathobardish warrior, urged on by an old comrade, had retaliated by killing one of the boasters. "Thereupon deadly hates well up against Ingeld."⁴ The

¹ A. Olrik, *Danmarks Helledigtning*, II, 38, n. 1.

² *Anglia*, XLVI, 174 ff.

³ A. J. Barnouw, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 23: "*se fæmnan þegn*, wo *fæmnan þegn* als ein wort zu fassen ist."

⁴ I take the *Ingelde* of l. 2064 as a dative of disadvantage.

Heathobardish prince is indeed in a ticklish position. He and his men are at the Danish court, hopelessly outnumbered and in the greatest danger. In order to get away Ingeld must submit to whatever terms the Danes impose. No doubt Ingeld had to pay a heavy *wergeld* to the nearest of kin of the Danish warrior that his follower had slain. But what of the woman that Ingeld had just married? Did he take her with him when he left for home? I think not. According to the poet, Ingeld's sexual fires grew cooler because of his troubles. I take this as an example of litotes: Ingeld divorced his wife, and, leaving her with her father at Heorot, went back to his own hall to plot vengeance on the Danes. Hrothgar's political stroke had failed, and a renewal of the struggle with the Heathobards became only a question of time. So Beowulf assured Hygelac, at any rate (ll. 2067-69a), and in an earlier passage the English poet tells us of the catastrophe: "The hall [Heorot] . . . awaited hostile flames, hateful fire; the time was not yet come when, after deadly hate, war was to waken between son-in-law and father-in-law" (ll. 81b-85).

In *Widsith* we find further information about the final scene. According to this poem, "Hrothwulf and Hrothgar . . . drove away the race of the Vikings and humbled the array of Ingeld, hewed down at Heorot the host of the Heathobards" (ll. 45-49). Putting together the two passages, we may conclude that Ingeld, upon his return home after his fiasco of a marriage, got up an expeditionary force and attacked his father-in-law, Hrothgar, at Heorot. His attack was unsuccessful and probably cost him his life, but Heorot caught fire and was burned down in the course of the struggle. Presumably Ingeld and his warriors set fire to Heorot; this method of attack was common in those days. On this occasion, however, the method did not work very well.

The story of Ingeld, then, as we have it in the English monuments, falls into two parts: the wedding and the battle. Between the two parts a considerable period of time seems to have elapsed—certainly a few months, perhaps a year or more. But in both parts the scene of action was the same, viz., Heorot, and it was the unhappy outcome of the wedding which made the battle inevitable. Let us now turn to the Scandian monuments and see what we find. I will begin with the *Bjarkamál*, a poem composed ca. 900 A.D. and preserved to us in

Latin translation by Saxo Grammaticus. The *Bjarkamál* is an account of the last battle of Hrothulf and his champions. With this battle, of course, Ingeld had nothing to do, and we therefore have no right to expect any information whatever about Ingeld from the poem. By a lucky chance, however, the poet makes one incidental reference to Ingeld. Hrothulf's champion, Bjarki, in a boasting speech, tells (among other things) of a fight he once had with a certain Agnarr, son of Ingeld. His description of the fight reads as follows:

Behold, it seems to me I truly pierced the White Stag with the "Teutonic" sword called Snirtir, from which [deed] I took the name Bōðvar, when I slew Agnarr, the son of Ingeld, and brought back a trophy. He broke Heking, a sword dented with blows, over my head; it would have given me a greater wound if its edge had been better. I severed his left arm and part of his left side and his right foot, and the cutting iron ran down his members and pierced deep into his ribs. Truly I have never seen a bolder man. For he sank down half-alive and, propped on his elbow, laughing he faced death, and with a laugh he spurned the grave, and rejoicing he passed into Valhalla. Great was the spirit of that man, which knew how to hide his death-hour with a single laugh, and with a merry face to suppress the greatest pain of body and mind.¹

This passage leaves us in doubt about many things. Let us first consider the circumstances of the fight. Were Bjarki and Agnarr merely fighting a duel, or was their fight a part of a general battle between Danes and Heathobards? We must suspect that we have to do with a war rather than a simple duel. The mention of Ingeld points in this direction, and the context of the passage strengthens our suspicion. As Olrik says,

If we are satisfied to decide the issue by the help of the *Biarkamal* alone, we do best to think it [i.e., the fight between Bjarki and Agnarr] an episode in some battle between the armies of Hrolf and Ingiald.²

Now the only battle between Hrothulf and Ingeld of which we have any information is that mentioned in *Widsith* and hinted at twice in *Beowulf*, viz., the battle in which Ingeld attacks Hrothulf and Hrothgar at Heorot but is defeated and probably slain. It is natural enough that Bjarki, now fighting in a second battle at Heorot, should be reminded of the earlier fight and should boast of his supreme achievement in that fight, viz., his triumph over Agnarr. For this reason

¹ Saxo *Gesta Danorum* II (ed. Holder, p. 64, ll. 19-35).

² A. Olrik, *The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, p. 77.

alone (and other reasons might be given) the passage is by no means out of place in the *Bjarkamál* and even adds to the effectiveness of that poem. If now we look into the later Scandian monuments we find that the Icelandic sources treat the fight as part of a battle, whereas Saxo in his prose account treats it as a duel. We are justified, I think, in looking upon the duel as an outgrowth of the older battle-episode; in other words, Saxo's prose version represents a tradition in which the original battle-setting has been eliminated.

But who was Agnarr? Did such a champion actually exist, and was he actually slain by Bjarki in the first battle of Heorot? Olrik looks upon Bjarki and Agnarr as historical persons.¹ Into this question I do not intend to go. So far as Agnarr, at least, is concerned its determination, even if it were possible, would not greatly help us. Much more important is the question of Agnarr's identity. The *Bjarkamál* represents him as a prince, the son of Ingeld. Was this the original conception of Agnarr, or is it a later development? Olrik never posed this question, curiously enough, and his failure to do so led him into serious errors. If we look into the English monuments we find Ingeld represented as a bridegroom who divorces his bride and, shortly after, meets defeat and (probably) death in battle. No son of his is mentioned and the existence of such a son seems highly unlikely. We may be sure that no son of Ingeld took part in the battle between Danes and Bards with which we are concerned. The parentage of Agnarr, then, as given in the *Bjarkamál*, does not agree with the evidence of the English sources and can hardly be accepted as historical. It must be regarded as fiction, and comparatively late fiction too, for if we examine the *Bjarkamál* itself we find traits inconsistent with the princely rank given to Agnarr. In a masterly discussion² Olrik has made it clear that Agnarr, when he died laughing, thereby revealed himself as a champion of coarser grain. Such a death does not befit a prince, but, as Olrik puts it, "is characteristic of the strong warrior, his defiant consciousness of strength worked out to its last consequence—worked out to a grimace." Kings and princes, by virtue of their station, meet death in a more sober, more dignified fashion. In reality, it is true, a prince might be wild and reckless enough.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 143 f., 254. But see P. Heermann, *Erläuterungen*, II, 168 f.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 142 f.

In heroic tradition, however, dignity and sobriety were his portion. Agnarr's laugh, then, gives us ground for believing that in the original tradition he was no king's son but a simple warrior (cf. the *Hrólfs saga kraka*, where Agnarr is called *berserkr*).¹

But why should Agnarr be transformed into a prince and made son to Ingeld? In the English accounts of the battle the only Bard mentioned was Ingeld, and it is very likely that in the original Scandian account the fall of Ingeld was the central event. But, as time went on, Agnarr took Ingeld's place and the fall of Agnarr became the dominating element in the story. The substitution was eased by making the substitute the son of the original. The fact that Agnarr's name alliterates with Ingeld's may have facilitated the process. Certainly, once Agnarr rose to importance in the tale, his parentage became a matter of interest and Ingeld was at hand to serve as father. Moreover, if Agnarr was made into a prince, the glory accruing to his slayer was thereby enhanced. Naturally we have no way of knowing just why the fall of Agnarr eclipsed and finally replaced the fall of Ingeld as the tradition of the battle developed. We can only record the fact that such a change took place, and make surmises as to the reasons for the change. Thus, if with Olrik we take the fall of Agnarr as a historic incident of the battle, we may suppose that he put up a better or at any rate a more interesting fight than did his king, a fight more attractive to the poets and more capable of poetic elaboration. Moreover, if the poetic interest lay with Bjarki, his opponent would profit thereby at the expense of the other Bards.

Danish tradition as exemplified in the *Bjarkamál* shows another change of great importance. The English sources make it clear that in fact the Bards under Ingeld attacked the Danes under Hrothgar and Hrothulf. During the battle itself the leader of the Danish army was presumably the youthful Hrothulf rather than his aged uncle, King Hrothgar, but nevertheless Hrothgar was, for the *Beowulf* poet at least, the chief Danish figure. In the account of the battle recorded in *Widsith* Hrothulf is named first, and this fact may indicate that the center of poetic interest was beginning to shift from uncle to nephew. In all the Scandian monuments we find this shift already completed: Hrothgar does not appear at all in connection with the Ingeld story.

¹ P. 102, ed. F. Jónsson.

Bjarki fights and kills Agnarr as a retainer of Hrothulf pure and simple. The complexity of the historical situation was thus simplified in favor of Hrothulf, who became the sole object of the enmity of the Bards. The simplification was even more thoroughgoing than this, indeed. The national enmity between Bards and Danes fell into the background and was soon forgotten. In its stead we find a personal enmity between Agnarr and the Danish king. No such enmity appears in the *Bjarkamál* itself, it is true, and possibly for its author the battle was still one between two nations. But even here the national character of the struggle is open to doubt, and when we turn to the later monuments we find that those in which the battle-setting is preserved interpret the fighting as a simple struggle for supremacy between the rival kinsmen Agnarr and Hrothulf. This is the interpretation given in the *Bjarkarmur* and in Arngrímur's *Epítome*, which were based on the lost *Skjöldungasaga*. Here, of course, Agnarr has taken the place of Ingeld, as in the *Bjarkamál*, and Agnarr's opponent Bjarki therefore serves as Hrothulf's instrument in getting rid of his rival.

So far we have dealt with the Scandian versions of the second part only of the Ingeld story. We have examined only the battle with the Danes in which Ingeld met defeat and probably death. Let us now turn to the wedding story. In the English sources the wedding and the battle are wholly separate, although the sequence of events is indicated. The same separation is to be found in most of the Scandian sources. But it would be astonishing if no attempt to combine the two parts were ever made, and in fact the prose version recorded by Saxo in his second book is best explained as such an attempt. The story may be outlined as follows. Agnarr, son of Ingeld, was betrothed to Hrut, sister of Hrothulf. At the wedding feast a quarrel arose among the guests present; it ended in the death of one of them at the hands of a certain Bjarki. Agnarr thereupon challenged Bjarki to a duel. Bjarki killed him with a single stroke. Agnarr died smiling. G. Sarrazin was, I think, the first to point out a connection between this story and the wedding of Ingeld as known to us from English sources. In his *Beowulf-Studien* (1888), page 43, he said: "Saxo erwähnt auch einen Ingellus als Zeitgenossen König Roes [Hrothgar], und erzählt dass zwar nicht er selbst, aber sein Sohn Agnerus mit einer

dänischen Königstochter, Rolf [Hrothulf] Krake's Schwester, verlobt gewesen, indessen vor der Hochzeit erschlagen worden sei. Das ist nun ziemlich abweichend von der Ingeldsage im *Beowulf*." Eight years later, in *Englische Studien* (XXIII, 231), Sarrazin added the following: "Auch das *Beowulf*lied berichtet in der Ingeld-episode von einem mord, der bei oder bald nach einer hochzeit begangen wird; der bräutigam der dänischen königstochter ist dort Ingeld selbst, nicht Ingeld's sohn, und nicht der bräutigam sondern ein anderer wird zunächst erschlagen. Trotz dieser abweichungen dürfen wir doch wegen der übereinstimmenden namen und verhältnisse annehmen, dass eine gemeinsame sage zu grunde liegt."

Sarrazin's two attempts at comparing Saxo's story with the English tale of Ingeld fail to make clear the correspondences and they fail because Sarrazin did not distinguish between the two parts of the original story, the wedding and the battle. The Ingeld episode of *Beowulf* is devoted to the wedding. At its end we get hints that a battle is to follow, but we are told nothing about this battle. The story of the battle is recorded in *Widsith*, and the hall-burning which accompanied it is referred to in *Beowulf*, lines 81 ff. Now the duel between Agnarr and Bjarki belongs, as we have seen, to the battle between Danes and Bards. This duel cannot be equated with any of the incidents of the Ingeld episode in *Beowulf*. Hence our comparison of the *Beowulf* episode with Saxo's prose tale must confine itself to the first or pre-duel part of that tale. Let us begin with the bridegroom. He is Ingeld in *Beowulf*, Agnarr son of Ingeld in Saxo. We know already that in the Scandian tradition of the battle Agnarr was substituted for an original Ingeld, who survived only as father of the substitute. It would be quite natural for this substitution to be carried over into the wedding story, and here it is! Further comment seems needless, and we may safely turn our attention to the bride. In *Beowulf* the bride is a Danish princess, not referred to by name, but identified as daughter of Hrothgar. This would make her a foster-sister to Hrothulf.¹ In Saxo the bride is a Danish princess named Hrut and identified as sister to Hrothulf. The change from foster-sister to true sister is slight, and the correspondence between *Beowulf* and Saxo is obviously close. We now come to the wedding itself. In both *Beo-*

¹ Hrothulf was Hrothgar's foster-son (see *Beowulf*, ll. 1184 ff.).

wulf and Saxo we have a bloody bridal; trouble arises among the retainers and a murder takes place. But the circumstances in the two cases are rather different. In *Beowulf* there is an old enmity between the bride's nation and that of the bridegroom; at the wedding the feud breaks out anew, and one of the Danes loses his life. In Saxo we find not so much enmity as persecution of a certain Hjalti by the Danish retainers. Nothing is said of any difference in nationality among the retainers, and the persecution is not motivated in terms of a national feud. The persecution of Hjalti takes the form of bone-throwing at meals. At the wedding feast one of the persecutors misses his aim and hits Hjalti's messmate, Bjarki. The latter at once throws the bone back and kills the man who first threw it.

Saxo's account of the bone-throwing incident is extremely brief and various points remain obscure. Comparison with the story of Bjarki's bear-fight, and with the Icelandic versions of the bone-throwing, reveals that Hjalti was a protégé of Bjarki's. The Icelanders tell us, besides, that Bjarki was no Dane, but a stranger at the Danish court, although after the bone-throwing he was taken into the Danish king's service. Apart from the Danish royal family, then, the feasters at the wedding are to be divided into two groups: on the one hand, the Danish retainers; on the other, Bjarki and his protégé Hjalti. Similarly, in the *Beowulf* episode the wedding guests fall into two groups: the Danish retainers, on the one hand, and two Bardish retainers, on the other. Other Bards were obviously present, but only two are mentioned: a veteran and a youthful warrior. Saxo's Bjarki may be taken to answer to the veteran of *Beowulf*; his Hjalti, to the youth of *Beowulf*. In *Beowulf* the Danish retainers treat their guests in a generally insulting way, but the poet's attention is concentrated on the particular insults which they offer to the Bardish youthful warrior. Similarly, in Saxo the humiliating treatment given to Hjalti is emphasized. In *Beowulf* the Bardish veteran takes a special interest in the youthful warrior. He tries to make a man of him. He points out to him that he must not submit tamely to the insults of the Danish retainers, but must assert himself by slaying one of the Danes. Similarly, in Saxo the veteran fighter Bjarki takes a special interest in the inexperienced Hjalti. He tries to make a man of him. His tactics, however, are somewhat different from those of the veteran in *Beowulf*.

Bjarki shows Hjalti how to act by example rather than by precept. Bjarki does not submit tamely to the bone-throwing of the Danish retainers, but asserts himself by slaying one of the Danes. This activity on the part of the veteran is characteristic of nearly all the Scandian versions of the wedding of Ingeld; it is by no means confined to the version we are now examining.¹

Saxo's account of the wedding differs from the *Beowulf* episode in two important respects. First, the fatal quarrel among the retainers is motivated, not in terms of a national feud, but in terms of persecution by bone-throwing. Second, the champions Bjarki and Hjalti, who certainly were not Bards, play the parts of the two Bardish retainers in *Beowulf*. These two differences have an obvious relationship. Characteristic of the Scandian tradition was the interpretation of the Bards as Danes. But if the Bards came to be thought of as Danes, and if the original Danes preserved their national identity, the quarrel at the wedding could no longer be motivated in nationalistic terms, and some other motivation would have to be found. At the same time, the elimination of the Bards as such made it possible to use non-Bardish heroes like Bjarki and Hjalti for parts originally Bardish. And the reason for introducing Bjarki and Hjalti into the wedding story was obvious and compelling. In *Beowulf* the fatal quarrel among the retainers upset the wedding. Naturally the bridegroom did not like this, but since he and the slayer were both Bards he of course put the blame on the Dane who had been killed. The case became very different when nationality no longer entered into the matter. Then the bridegroom would blame the slayer for making the trouble, and no wonder, for of course the murder brought the upset. Now in the battle story Bjarki and Agnarr were antagonists from of old, and nothing could be easier or more natural than to give Agnarr the same antagonist in the wedding story by identifying with Bjarki the trouble-maker who spoiled Agnarr's wedding feast. In *Beowulf* there were two trouble-makers, an old and a young warrior, whose relation was that of master and pupil. As it happened, Bjarki

¹ Cf. A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, II, 81 f. Olrik is mistaken in saying that the Danish lay of Ingeld (preserved by Saxo in Latin translation in his sixth book) agrees with *Beowulf* on this point. The following verses agree strictly with Saxo's prose:

"Dic, Rotho, perpetue timidorum irrisor, an ultos
Frothonem satis esse putas, qui funera septem
Vindictae unius impendimus?" (ed. Holder, p. 214, ll. 20-22).

too was coupled with another warrior, Hjalti, and their relationship likewise was one of master and pupil. The association between Bjarki and Hjalti was first worked out, no doubt, in the story of Bjarki's bear-fight. And since Bjarki played the active part in the bear story (he did both the slaying and the egging on), we should expect him to take over all the activity once he got into the wedding story, leaving to Hjalti, as usual, a purely passive part. In this way the slaying, which, in *Beowulf*, the old warrior urged but the young warrior carried out, was committed to Bjarki in Saxo's wedding story, while Hjalti was left to submit passively to the insults which the young warrior in *Beowulf* endured only until he was ready to strike. This is however not necessarily the right explanation of the transfer of the slaying from youth (as we have it in *Beowulf*) to veteran (as we have it in Saxo). Parallels to this transfer can be found, as we saw above, in other Scandian versions of the wedding, and the transfer may have taken place before the introduction of Bjarki and Hjalti into the tale. The bone-throwing motivation seems to have arisen in the eleventh century.¹ It reflects, of course, an actual custom at feasts. The deliberate combination of wedding and battle stories which the introduction of Bjarki into the wedding story involved is the point of greatest technical interest in Saxo's version.

Certain details remain to be noted. Saxo makes no specific statement about the nationality of Agnarr. Since, however, the Danish champions take his side against the stranger Bjarki, we may infer that in this particular story Agnarr was thought of as a Dane. The Icelandic sources are agreed that Agnarr was Danish. The *Bjarkamál* gives us no information on the point. Saxo tells us that Agnarr, angry at Bjarki for disturbing the wedding feast, challenged him to a duel. In other words, the fight between Agnarr and Bjarki, as soon as it became attached to the wedding story, lost its battle-setting and Agnarr's followers or comrades in the original battle appear in our tale as Danish champions. Traces of the original setting are to be found nevertheless. We are told that after the death of Agnarr the champions tried to avenge him on Bjarki, but Bjarki made great havoc among them. This finale is out of place if the fight was a duel, but is proper enough if the fight was part of a battle. I take it, then,

¹ A. Olrik, *Heroic Legends of Denmark*, p. 226.

that the attack of the champions upon Bjarki is a survival of the original battle-setting. Again, Bjarki is described as Hjalti's *consessor*. The full significance of this can be found only by reading the corresponding accounts in the *Hrólfs saga kraka* and the *Bjarkarmur*.¹ From the Icelanders we get also the specific statement that Bjarki killed his man when he threw the bone back at him; in Saxo we read that Bjarki's throw twisted the man's head around, so that his face was turned to the back. The human neck cannot undergo such treatment without breaking, of course, and we have every right to draw the inference that Bjarki killed the man, but the Icelandic sources give us the statement to that effect which is wanting in Saxo. As regards the story as a whole, Olrik takes it to be an example of the familiar type in which an unwelcome suitor of low birth is slain, at the last moment, by a hero who is duly rewarded with the hand of the bride.² Unfortunately, this explanation of the tale has no relation to the facts. There is nowhere the slightest indication that Agnarr's suit was unwelcome. And though Agnarr, the historical person, was no king's son, as we have seen above, Agnarr the hero of Scandian tradition always appears as a man of high rank. In the *Bjarkamál* he is recorded as son of Ingeld, and from this we are warranted in inferring that the poet thought of him as a prince. Saxo himself, in his prose account, informs us, vaguely enough, that Agnarr was of higher rank than Bjarki. The Icelanders tell us specifically that he was a prince. Even the *Hrólfs saga*, which in one passage labels Agnarr as *berserkr*, adds, "but no less a king for that." All our sources treat Agnarr with great respect, and nowhere is he represented in anything but a favorable light. Bjarki, in the wedding story, does not rescue an unwilling bride from the clutches of an unwelcome bridegroom of low birth. His activity is wholly different. In a quarrel at the wedding feast he kills one of the retainers. His subsequent fight with Agnarr had no original connection with the wedding, as Olrik himself would be the first to admit, but was brought in as a result of the deliberate combination of the wedding story with a distinct story, viz., the battle story. This combination was made by

¹ Pp. 63 ff., 135 ff., ed. F. Jónsson.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 234 f. Olrik wisely adds, "I do not wish to stress this solution as certain." Herrmann, less cautious, says "Olricks Annahme . . . trifft zweifellos das Richtige" (*op. cit.*, II, 171).

some Danish sagaman, or perhaps by Saxo himself, but evidence is wholly wanting that the combiner, or anybody else, looked upon Bjarki as Hrut's rescuer. The story ends, indeed, with Bjarki's victory over Agnarr and the Danish champions. A little further on, Saxo, after he has told of another achievement of Bjarki, sums things up as follows: "His facinorum uirtutibus clarissimas optimatum familiaritates adeptus, eciam regi percarus euasit; sororem eius Rutam uxorem adciuit, uictique sponsam uictorie premium habuit."¹ From this passage, separated from our story by a good stretch of text, it ought to be clear enough that Saxo's afterthought, to the effect that the bride of the conquered was the reward of the conqueror, is a mere conceit highly characteristic of Saxo's style and utterly worthless in a serious investigation of the origin of the tale we are studying. If Bjarki won Hrut for a wife, he did it, no doubt, by virtue of his achievements in battle, and the chief of these seems to have been the slaying of Agnarr. But Agnarr as bridegroom is playing another man's part, as we have seen. The proper and original bridegroom of Hrut was Ingeld, and Ingeld, as we know from the specific statement in *Beowulf*, lines 2026 ff., was a most welcome and eagerly desired suitor, who gave up his bride of his own free will, and was not killed at the wedding, but in a battle which took place later on. Saxo presents us with a combination of two separate and distinct stories, and this combination cannot be interpreted as Olrik interprets it without doing violence to the text itself and to all the evidence we have of the actual development of the story from its beginnings, preserved in the English monuments, down to its Saxonian form.

The Icelandic sources say nothing whatever about the wedding of Agnarr, although they tell in some detail, as a story for itself, the bone-throwing episode. The absence of Agnarr's wedding from Icelandic tradition is easy to explain. The Icelanders, with their passion for genealogy, worked Agnarr into the Danish royal family, and obviously it would never do for Hrothulf to give his sister in marriage to a close kinsman. The wedding feast was therefore transformed into a simple feast, unconnected with weddings, and the bone-throwing, originally used to motivate the quarrel at the wedding, came to serve merely as the first step in Hjalti's education. Olrik has argued that the bone-

¹ *Op. cit.* (ed. Holder, p. 56, ll. 37-40).

throwing started as a separate story, and was later inserted into the wedding story,¹ but the course of events in *Beowulf* and Saxo is too closely parallel to admit of this explanation. The bone-throwing was something new in the tale, indeed, but it was only a new motivation, and the old tale survived almost intact, in spite of the change in motivation. The following analysis, which includes only those traits common to *Beowulf* and Scandian tradition, will make it clear that the bone-throwing was no separate tale, but merely a new motivation of the tale known to us from the English epic:

1. A Danish princess, foster-sister [*Beowulf*] or sister [Saxo] of the Danish king Hrothulf, is about to marry a prince [*Beowulf*] or a man of high rank [Saxo] named Ingeld [*Beowulf*] or Agnarr son of Ingeld [Saxo].

2. A feast takes place in the hall of the Danish king [*Beowulf*, Icelanders] to celebrate the wedding [*Beowulf*, Saxo].

3. At the feast the Danish retainers heap insults upon a certain young man.

4. Their victim is a Bard [*Beowulf*] or a captive [*Hrólfs saga*].²

5. At first he takes the insults meekly.

6. An older warrior, himself a Bard [*Beowulf*] or a stranger [Icelanders], takes him under his wing.

7. The young man [*Beowulf*] or the older warrior [Saxo, Icelanders] finally kills a Danish retainer who has insulted him.

8. This deed brings the festivities to a halt and leads to the breaking-off of the marriage [*Beowulf*, Saxo].

The Scandian differs from the English account in some respects, of course. The quarrel among the retainers is differently motivated, and, in Saxo, the fight between Bjarki and Agnarr (elsewhere a separate tale) is incorporated into the story. But the Icelanders, although they know nothing of any Bards at the Danish court, make it clear that Bjarki and Hjalti were not retainers of the Danish king, and the same situation is implied in Saxo. We may be assured, then, that the Scandian tale goes back to an older version substantially the same as that preserved to us in *Beowulf*.

Saxo's account of the wedding suffers from extreme brevity, but it is consistent enough, except at the very end, where the attack of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 233 f.

² P. 64, ed. F. Jónsson. According to the saga, he was a peasant lad who one day went to town to amuse himself. By an ill chance he fell into the hands of the king's retainers, who baited him to their hearts' content. When he showed his resentment they made him their prisoner and set him in the bone-heap.

retainers on Bjarki does not agree with the duel motif, as I have pointed out above. Since Saxo's consistency has been severely attacked,¹ I will discuss the matter briefly. Saxo has been explaining how Hrothulf's generosity brought around him a great flock of champions. He now proceeds to tell us something of these champions. First comes Agnarr, son of Ingeld, whom Hrothulf esteemed so highly that he gave the princess Hrut to him in marriage. To the poet of the *Bjarkamál* Agnarr's patronymic doubtless indicated royal descent. To Saxo the patronymic seems to have been empty of meaning; at any rate, Agnarr is represented merely as a man of high rank, not as a prince, and Saxo apparently thought of him as one of Hrothulf's retainers. When he tells us that Agnarr *ingenti conuiuio nupcias instruit*, we are not to suppose that Agnarr had a hall of his own, where the feast was spread. Comparison with *Beowulf* and the Icelandic accounts makes it certain that the feast took place at the hall of the Danish king. But if Agnarr was, for Saxo, a Danish retainer, he of course lived in Hrothulf's hall, and there he would naturally give his wedding feast. The supposed disagreement with the Icelanders, then, in this matter, turns out to be no disagreement at all but perfect harmony. Again, the Danish retainers consistently stand with Agnarr against the two outsiders Bjarki and Hjalti. This is best explained on the theory that Agnarr was looked upon as a fellow-retainer. Finally, the duel between Agnarr, the retainer, and Bjarki is proper enough, but if we are to suppose Agnarr to be, for Saxo, a prince sitting in his own high seat and presiding over a feast in his own hall, the duel becomes at once impossible, for kings and princes do not fight duels under such circumstances. The interpretation of Saxo's Agnarr as a Danish retainer makes Saxo's narrative consistent and reasonable, and needs no further justification. I will, however, point out one thing more. Saxo's interpretation of Agnarr was probably dictated, to a great degree, by his interpretation of Bjarki. Now Bjarki became a retainer of Hrothulf and a kinsman of Hrothulf by marriage. As regards the latter relation, he followed in Agnarr's steps. The parallelism would be complete, and therefore poetically satisfying, if he succeeded Agnarr as retainer too. It was perhaps some such artistic process as this which made Agnarr into a retainer of Hrothulf.

¹ Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, II, 171.

We are now ready to turn to Saxo's second version of the wedding of Ingeld, the version recorded in his sixth book. The story may be outlined thus:

1. King Swerting of Saxony treacherously slew King Froda of Denmark. Swerting lost his own life at the hands of his victim.
2. Froda's son Ingeld succeeded to the Danish throne.
3. Ingeld abandoned himself to profligate living.
4. The sons of Swerting gave their sister in marriage to Ingeld, and made peace with him.
5. Froda's old retainer Starkad learned that Ingeld, instead of avenging his father, had made friends with the sons of Swerting and taken to wife Swerting's daughter.
6. Starkad went at once to the Danish court, and took his accustomed seat.
7. The queen drove him from the seat with insulting words.
8. Starkad submitted meekly, and took a seat in the furthest end of the hall.
9. When Ingeld entered, he recognized Starkad, and restored him to his place. He rebuked his wife for her treatment of Starkad.
10. The queen now sought to win Starkad's favor; she waited on him respectfully.
11. At the feast that evening the sons of Swerting were Ingeld's guests.
12. Both Ingeld and the queen sought in every way to placate Starkad at the feast, but in vain.
13. Starkad in a long speech upbraided Ingeld for his vices and for his failure to avenge Froda.
14. Ingeld was at last stirred to take action. He leaped from his seat at the feast and attacked the sons of Swerting.
15. Ingeld and Starkad together killed all the sons of Swerting, and Ingeld divorced his wife (apparently).

This story obviously agrees with the Ingeld episode of *Beowulf* in a number of points. The action takes place in the hall of the Danish king. Ingeld divorces his wife. An old warrior (here Starkad) urges a young warrior (here Ingeld) to avenge his father. The vengeance takes place. But it is equally obvious that the tale has undergone radical changes. Ingeld plays not only his own part but also that of the young warrior. Starkad is not content to urge the young warrior to take vengeance, but himself takes part in the slaying. The feast is not a wedding feast, and the divorce seems to have taken place only after a number of years of married life, for the queen is said to have borne Ingeld three or four children. Most curious of all, Ingeld is represented

as king of Denmark, and Hrothgar, Hrothulf, and the other Scyldings have vanished from the tale altogether; instead we have the sons of Swerting, who are represented as Saxons, i.e., Germans. Again, the innocent and passive bride in *Beowulf* has become a queen very active and somewhat blameworthy, for her insulting treatment of Starkad answers to the insulting treatment of the Bards by the Danish retainers in the *Beowulf* episode. It is noteworthy that while the younger warrior (Hjalti) is the chief victim of insulting treatment in *Beowulf* and in Saxo's second book, the older warrior (Starkad) becomes the chief victim in Saxo's sixth book; he, like Hjalti and the young Bard of *Beowulf*, submits meekly to the insults. This transfer is doubtless due to the fact that here Ingeld takes over the part originally played by the younger warrior; insults cannot be hurled at a king as they can be hurled at a retainer.

The sons of Swerting are represented as giving their sister in marriage to Ingeld to heal a feud. The representation of the bride as a sister rather than as a daughter is characteristic of Scandian (as against English) tradition; we find the same thing in Saxo's second book. The change goes back to the Scandian exaltation of Hrothulf over Hrothgar, which involved an identification of the characters of the story in terms of the dominating figure. The sons of Swerting in our story, then, were substituted for an earlier Hrothulf, a Hrothulf still preserved in the wedding story of Saxo's second book. Why was this substitution made? The two wedding stories in Saxo have in common the interpretation of the Bards as Danes (although traces of the original situation linger in Saxo's second book). The stories differ, however, in motivation; in the second book, the old nationalistic motivation is lost, while in the sixth book it is kept. But if the Bards were considered to be Danes, the nationalistic motivation could not be kept without transforming the original Danes into non-Danes! Hence Hrothulf was eliminated, and the sons of Swerting took his place. But why were they rather than somebody else chosen as substitutes for Hrothulf? If we turn to *Beowulf* for light, we find it. Swerting is mentioned in the English poem as a kinsman of the Geatish king Hygelac. The sons of Swerting, then, put into nationalistic terms, were originally and properly the Geatas. Now the Geatas were allies of the Danes, and may have taken part in the wars between Danes and

Bards.¹ If so, the substitution of Geatas for the Danes of the original story would be easy and natural. Later on, the true nationality of the sons of Swerting having been forgotten, Swerting could be given any nationality deemed suitable. Saxo, as we have seen, makes him a Saxon, i.e., a German. The Icelanders made him a Swede (perhaps a reminiscence of the Geatas, who were early incorporated into the Swedish realm).

It would be possible to discuss this version of the story of Ingeld at much greater length, but since Olrik has made so close an examination of the version² I will proceed to yet another version which, like the wedding story in Saxo's second book, has been sadly neglected by the philologists. I refer to the story of Ingeld as told by Snorri in his *Ynglingasaga*. Most of this story does not concern us here, it is true. The final episodes, however, as set down by Snorri in chapters 39 and 40 of his work, are distinctly pertinent. The course of events may be outlined as follows:

1. King Ingeld of Sweden gave his daughter Ása in marriage to the Danish king Guðrøðr.
2. Ása made her husband slay his brother Halfdan.
3. Ása also brought about her husband's death. The circumstances of the murder have not come down to us.
4. Ása now joined her father in Sweden.
5. Ívarr, son of Halfdan, after taking possession of his uncle's kingdom, invaded Sweden.
6. Ingeld and Ása, despairing of success against Ívarr, took shelter in the royal hall; they set fire to the hall and perished, with all their following, in the flames.

In an earlier study, I have given reasons for believing that Guðrøðr and Ívarr answer to Hrothgar and Hrothulf respectively.³ If so, Ása obviously goes back to the Hrut of the older tradition, with the curious difference that her father and her bridegroom have exchanged parts. As for Ása's active nature and evil career, this is of course a secondary development, but we find something of the same thing in the version of the story in Saxo's sixth book, where the wife of Ingeld is far from colorless. Saxo's Ingeld has a sister named Ása; in the version of Snorri, the name has been transferred to Hrut, whose original name, proper enough for a Danish princess, was no longer admissible when she came to be thought of as a Swedish princess. Snorri's Ingeld,

¹ See my discussion, *Literary History of Hamlet*, I, 82 f.

² A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, II, 11 ff.

³ *PLMA*, XLII, 300 ff.

therefore, unlike Saxo's, has no sister. In Snorri's version, the Danes keep their nationality, and their enemies the Bards are interpreted as Swedes. The general course of events may be thus described: one king gives his daughter in marriage to another king, but the marriage turns out badly and the daughter must return to her father; hostilities now break out between the two nations and end in a hall-burning. This outline agrees with the course of events as recorded in the English monuments. Moreover, an Ingeld appears as the opponent of a Danish dynasty, and the struggle ends with the victory of the Danes and the death of Ingeld, all in agreement with *Beowulf* and *Widsith*. But the Danish kings concerned, although they are uncle and nephew, do not go by the names given them in the English poems, but have other appellations. Moreover, the princess, who according to *Beowulf* is daughter of the Danish king and marries the foreign king, according to Snorri is daughter of the foreign king and marries the Danish king. Again, Snorri says nothing about any disturbances at the wedding, and motivates quite otherwise the failure of the marriage. Finally, it is the Danish king, not Ingeld, who does the attacking at the last, and the hall which Ingeld sets on fire is not his enemy's but his own.

The three Scandian versions of the story of Ingeld differ widely among themselves, and seem to be independent growths out of the original tradition preserved in the English monuments. Snorri's version is localized in Skaane, and probably represents the tradition as it developed in that province. The version recorded in the sixth book of Saxo obviously tells the tale from the point of view of the Bards; it belongs to the cycle of stories that gathered around the hero Starkad. The version in Saxo's second book just as obviously belongs to the Hrothulf or Bjarki cycle. The differences in the various versions doubtless arose by virtue of the differences in orientation and poetic interest in the cycles to which they belong. As the centuries rolled by, these differences became so great that the Scandian versions, placed side by side, would hardly be recognized as related. But when we compare each with the English version we see the relationships and the nature of the development. Here as in so many problems of Norse philology the solution can be had only by bringing to bear all the evidence derivable from English sources.

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TWO GENERATIONS OF PETRARCHISM AND PETRARCHISTS IN SPAIN

IN COMPARING the generation of Boscán with the generation of Petrarchists which immediately followed it, it becomes at once clear that the new Italianate school had gone through an important evolution in the introduction of several poetic forms, in the choice of the subject matter of poems, and, especially, in the selection of models for imitation; but, owing to the lack of a treatise defining the essential characteristics and noting the changes in the course of the development of Petrarchism in Spain, this simple fact has been ignored. The purpose of the next two paragraphs (preliminary to the citation of the imitations in the following pages—a brief outline of the outstanding features of the two groups) is merely to call attention to this point.

The chief sources of inspiration during the first period, the best poets of which are Boscán, Garcilaso, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan Coloma, and Cetina and Acuña in their earlier manner, were Petrarch and Ausias March.¹ The writings of *Cinquecento* Italians such as Bembo, Bernardo Tasso, Sannazzaro, and Tansillo were known to them, but their influence was largely restricted to isolated phrases, images, and ideas in the sonnets and *canzoni* of the Spaniards.² This may partly be explained by the obvious fact that Petrarch's sonnets and *canzoni* were considered the most perfect examples of their genre, and that practically all the Italian sonneteers of the epoch were fash-

¹ Although their use of the individual Petrarchists and the Italian Petrarchistic anthologies place Cetina and Acuña in the second phase of the new movement, it is conceivable that the March imitations of both were written during the period of the greatest popularity of the Catalan poet. Otherwise it would be necessary to assume in Cetina's case, in view of our knowledge that he spent but a short time in Spain after 1542, that he either took a copy of *Les Obres* to Italy or the New World (or acquired one there) or that he wrote the greater portion of his imitations from March during his brief return to his native land in 1546 or 1547. Also, on account of the general character of the earliest imitations, it is natural to date most of Cetina's borrowings from Petrarch before 1542. F. A. Icaza (*Sucesos reales que parecen imaginados, etc.*, p. 57) is of the opinion that all the preserved compositions were written before his departure for Mexico.

² The *Cinquecento* epistles and eclogues, however, provided the school of Boscán with much material for the poems in similar genres.

ioning their compositions on the pattern of the master. The method of Bembo and the Bembists was apparently being taken across the sea from Italy into Spain. The large rôle played by Ausias March is due to his popularity and high repute; furthermore, his work offered at the time the closest parallel in Spain to the *Canzoniere*. Boscán reintroduced the sonnet and made use of *estancias largas*, and either he or Garcilaso introduced the *tercelito*, *octava rima*, and the *verso suelto*. This period may be placed, approximately, between the date of the meeting of Boscán and Navagero in Granada in 1526 and the appearance of the *Cancionero general de 1554*. The earliest symptoms of a change to the second phase must, however, have appeared soon after the publication of the first Petrarchistic anthology in Italy, in 1545.

Cetina, by his use of this anthology, was the first to introduce imitations from the Italian verse collections; a procedure which, together with the imitation of sixteenth-century Italian Petrarchistic poems in individual works, formed the distinctive feature of the second group. We are struck by the fact that imitations from *Les Obres* of Ausias March practically cease. No doubt the younger generation, finding the ideas of March difficult of comprehension and expression, turned to the simpler Petrarchistic compositions for their inspiration, though Petrarch's own poems continued to be very popular. The pastoral sonnet, rarely employed by the earlier writers, now becomes a conspicuous feature of the poetry of the epoch. The madrigal, introduced by either Cetina or Acuña, has some diffusion, but, on the other hand, the *sextina*, first used by Cetina, is never widely employed. The most important poets of this fertile period are Cetina, Acuña, Jorge de Montemayor, Ramírez Pagán, Lómas Cantoral, Francisco de la Torre, Fray Luis de León, Gregorio de Silvestre, Barahona de Soto, Juan de la Cueva, Pedro Lafnez, and Fernando de Herrera. We may place this phase between the years 1554 and 1580 approximately.

A series of studies, virtually all of them made within the last thirty years, have brought to light numerous Italian imitations of the poets of the two groups. In continuation of these studies twenty-nine imitations not hitherto pointed out are noted in this paper; one from the first phase, which appears as anonymous in the *Cancionero general*

de 1554; and twenty-eight from the second phase: four by Cetina, one by Acuña, eleven by Ramírez Pagán, two by Diego de Fuentes, one by Silvestre, seven by Juan de la Cueva, two by Pedro Laínez, and one by Fray Jayme de Torres.¹

¹ Previous studies and references to the imitations of the poets of the two periods are as follows:

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GARCILASO:

- Keniston, H., *Garcilaso de la Vega. A Critical Study of His Life and Works* (New York, 1922).

CETINA:

- Withers, A. M., *The Sources of the Poetry of Gutierre de Cetina* (Philadelphia, 1923). (Practically all the results of previous investigators are set forth in the introductory chapter.)
Mele, E., "Di alcune imitazioni e traduzioni Bembiane di Poeti Spagnuoli," *Fanfulla della Domenica*, XXVI (1904), No. 22.

ACUÑA:

- Crawford, J. P. W., "Two Spanish Imitations of an Italian Sonnet," *Modern Language Notes*, XXXI (1916), 122-23.
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"CANCIONERO GENERAL DE 1554"

Although quite freely handled, the inspiration of the following sonnet derives from one of Petrarch. The initial line and the first tercet are almost literally translated:

Ya tengo de sospiros lleno el viento, ...
Que no ay tronco ni piedra en esta valle,
Ni ramo verde, hoja no ay ninguna,
Flor en esta montafia tenebrosa
Que de lágrimas mías no se halle
Bañada cien mil vezes. ...¹

I' ho pien di sospir quest'aere tutto, ...
Non è sterpo nè sasso in questi monti,
Non ramo o fronda verde in queste pi-
agge,
Non fiore in queste valli o foglia d'erba, ...
Che non sappian quanto è mia pena acer-
ba.²

CETINA

Two sonnets by Cetina are faithful versions of two pastoral poems by Lodovico Dolce:

I

Como al pastor que, en la ardiente hora
estiva,
La verde sombra, el fresco aire agrada,
Y como á la sedienta su manada
Alegra alguna fuente de agua viva,
Así á un árbol, do se note ó escriba
Mi nombre en la corteza delicada,
Alegra, y ruego a Amor que sea guardada,
La planta, por que el nombre eterno viva.
Ni menos se deshace el hielo mío,
Vandalio, ante tu ardor, cual suele nieve
A la esfera del sol ser derretida.
Así decia Dórica en el río,
Mirando su beldad, y el viento leve
Llevó la voz que apenas fué entendida.³

«Come ai pastor nei maggior caldi estivi
estiva,
Son grate l'aure, e le più fresche ombrelle,
Et come a l'assetate pecorelle
È dolce incontro di fontane e rivi,
Così a me i tronchi dove intagli e scrivi
Il nome mio con note altere e belle,
Acciò, crescendo e queste piante e quelle,
Restino i chiari honor sempre più vivi.
Nè men si strugge l'empio mio costume
A' preghi tuoi, ch'a i raggi d'un bel sole
Si dilegua talhor faldia di neve.»
Cotal Lidia dicea dolci parole;
Ma 'l vento, cinto de l'usate piume,
Seco le si portò spedito e lieve.⁴

II

Ni por mostrarse blanda ni piadosa
La imagen que en el alma Amor me sella,
Ni porque ceda á su color más bella
El blanco lirio y la bermeja rosa,
Ni por mostrarse fiera y desdefiosa,
Ni por fingir de mí falsa querella,
Ni por estar presente ó nunca vella,
Ni por estar contenta ni quejosa,
Mi alma se verá que de otro fuego
Arda jamás, ni que se borra un punto
La imagen que ya en ella está esculpida;

Perchè si mostri ogn'hor dolce e pietosa
La mia cortese, amica pastorella,
Nè s'appareggi a la sua faccia bella
Bianco ligustro, ne vermiglia rosa;
Perchè mi renda acerba e nubilosa
Del crudo Aminta l'una e l'altra stella
Orgoglio e sdegno, e l'empia voglia e fella
Di far quest'alma misera e dogliosa;
Non fia però giamai, che d'altro foco
Avampi et arda, e de l'affitto core
Esca l'Idolo mio pregiato e caro.

¹ Pp. 588-89 of the *Cancionero*, inserted in Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI^e Siècle* (Heilbronn, 1878).

² F. Petrarca, *Il Canzoniere* (Milan, 1918), p. 452.

³ *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina* (Hazañas y la Rua ed.: Seville, 1895), pp. 30-31.

⁴ *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss. autori. Libro Primo* (Venice, 1545), p. 310.

Tan dulce hizo Amor el nudo ciego,
Que no puede amargar, si todo junto
Fuese el ajeno el resto de mi vida.¹

Che tanto il dolce fu, ch'io n'hebbi Amore,
Ch'a par di lui può giudicarsi poco
(Sia pur d'ascentio e fel) tutto il tuo
amaro.²

Another sonnet of Cetina has been called "by far the best, and, in fact, most complete statement of the *code* (color symbolism) to be found in a single poem or ballad."³ While the poem ascribes a different meaning to the colors, it is quite likely that it was inspired by a poem attributed to Aquilano (quoted below). Cetina wrote the first Spanish sonnet on the subject; Italian sonnet models were already in existence (see also Francesco Cei, *Sonetti, capituli, canzoni, sextine e strambotti* [Venice, 1503]); the expression of the color code is as complete in Aquilano's sonnet as in Cetina's; the technique and purpose are similar in both; Cetina was probably acquainted with the poems of Aquilano since it appears that he derived the idea for another of his compositions from the Quattrocentist.⁴

Es lo blanco castíssima pureza;
Amores significa lo morado;
Crúeza o sujeción lo encarnado;
Negro oscuro es dolor, claro tristeza.
Naranjado, se entiende que es firmeza;
Rojo claro es vergüenza, y colorado
Alegría; y si obscuro es lo leonado,
Congoja; claro es señoril alteza.
Es lo pardo trabajo; azul es celo;
Turquesado es soberbia, y lo amarillo
Es desesperación; verde, esperanza.
Y desta suerte, aquel que niega el cielo,
Licencia en su dolor para decillo,
Lo muestra sin hablar, por semejanza.⁵

Sì come el verde importa speme o amore,
Vendetta el rosso, el turchin gelosia,
Fermezza el negro e anchor malinconia,
El bianco mostra purità di core,
El giallo haver extinto ogni suo ardore,
E chi veste morel secreto sia;
Taneto poi fastidio e fantasia,
El beretin travaglia pene e errore.
En questo ultimo voisi a te venire
Abito conveniente a chi mi manda,
Perche vedesti quel che non può dire.
E senza fine a te se recomanda,
Nè ti priega altro fin al suo servire,
Che chi ben serve e tace assai dimanda.⁶

In pointing out a considerable influence of Tansillo's poetry on Cetina, previous investigators have overlooked a sonnet of the Italian in which a storm-torn oak is compared to a symbolical tree of hope in his heart. Cetina's imitation involves a similar comparison, though it is less poetic in its details, and is written in a more cheerful mood. Both poems are somewhat related in theme to Bembo's *De la gran*

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 311.

³ H. A. Kenyon, "Color Symbolism in Early Spanish Ballads," *Romanic Review*, VI (1915), 338.

⁴ See Withers' thesis, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁶ Aquilano, Serafino, *Le Rime* (Bologna, 1894), p. 218.

quercia che 'l bel Tebro adombra and Petrarch's L'arbor gentil che forte amai molt'anni.

Como teniendo en tierra bien echadas
Las raíces un árbol se sostiene,
Y como del humor que de ellas tiene
Las ramas son criadas y guardadas;
Como si le serán todas cortadas,
No por eso se seca o se detiene,
Antes torna a brotar y a mostrar viene
Otras en su lugar luego criadas,
Así de mi esperar siendo cortado
Por la mano cruel de algún desvío
Con las ramas el fruto deseado,
De la raíz, que está en el alma, envío
Humor a la esperanza, y de obstinado
Con nuevas ramas a esperar porfío.¹

Come la quercia talora alta ed annosa,
Mentre dal ceppo suo ruvida e grande
Quinci e quindi superba i rami spande,
E drizza al ciel la cima alta e frondosa,
Di cui la chioma sì verde ed ombrosa,
I rami alteri e le spicate ghiande,
Improvvisa poi vien che a terra mande
Ira di Dio ch'è tra le nubi ascosa;
Così dal petto mio ne svelse amore
L'arbore che nudria de la speranza,
In un momento, frutto, fronde, e fiore.
Nè rimase altro, o fiera rimembranza!
Che 'l fulminato tronco in mezzo al core,
Dove dipinse amor vostra sembianza.²

ACUÑA

The following poem, strikingly original in conception, derives from one by Lodovico Domenichi, but only in so far as it acted as a stimulant to Acuña's fancy:

*Un novillo feroz y un fuerte toro
Lidtan, delante de su becerra amada,
Y mirábalos Silvia descaudada,
De gracia, y de beldad rico tesoro,
Quando por la ribera un sacro coro
De ninfas ví venir, y en su llegada
Fué dellas mi pastora coronada
De flores, que eran perlas sobre oro;
Y como el fuerte vencedor furioso
Dió alegre fin á la obstinada empresa,
Zampofia no quedó que no tocase
Diciendo: ¡O bien nacido, y venturoso
Silvano, si tu llanto, que no cesa,
Con fin tan venturoso se acabase!*³

*Al cozzar di due tauri arditi e forti
Dinanzi a la giovenca amata e bella,
Stavasi la mia cruda pastorella,
Ver me volgendo i suoi bei lumi accorti,
Quasi volesse dir: se tu riporti,
Batto, di questa pugna, iniqua e fella,
Vittoria, e non ti sia sorte rubella,
Io vo che l'alma mia nel mezzo porti.
In quella il coraggioso vincitore
Diè lieta fine a l'ostinata impresa,
Et rallegrò d'ogniun l'anima e 'l core.
A me si fece allhor la mente accesa,
Tanto ch'io spero il triomphale honore,
Tosto, de l'amorosa alta contesa.*⁴

RAMÍREZ PAGÁN

Literary histories have completely overlooked Ramírez Pagán largely on account of the inaccessibility of his one surviving work, the *Floresta de varia poeſta* (Valencia, 1562). All that we know about his life is based on his dedicatory letter to the Duke of Segorbe. He was born between 1523 and 1525 at Murcia, where he received his early

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

² *Poesie liriche edite ed inedite di Luigi Tansillo, con prefazione e note di F. Fiorentino* (Naples, 1882), Vol. I, Son. CL.

³ *Varias poesías* (Madrid, 1804), pp. 199-200.

⁴ *Rime* (Venice, 1544), p. 272.

education. At Alcalá de los Henares, he studied theology and philosophy, being graduated both as *doctor* and *maestro*. Most of his poetry was written there, probably under the inspiration of his friends Montemayor and Francisco de Figueroa. Later he became chaplain and confessor of the family of the Duke at Valencia. To him he dedicated the first book of the *Floresta* containing *composiciones de ejemplaridad y lección moral*, as against those of the second part, dedicated to one Leonor Guálvez, which had poems *lascivas y de burlas* written during his youth. He makes love under the names of Silvano and Dardanio. It is interesting to note that Tansillo addressed a sonnet to him.¹ The *Floresta* was never reprinted, nor was the promise of a second volume, which was to contain a description of the earthquake at Murcia, a verse translation of the epistles of Ovid, and other compositions ever fulfilled. Some of his devotional poetry may be found in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Volume XXXV; extracts of his profane poetry are contained in Tijera and Moncada, *Biblioteca del Murciano* (Madrid, 1922). His *Floresta* ranks favorably with the poetry of his time. Incidentally, it is the first printed book in Spanish to contain imitations from the Italian anthologies.²

Ramírez Pagán made at least eleven imitations from the Italians, drawing his material from various sources. The first sonnet is from Petrarch, but is applied to a different sort of situation, and is, in addition, freely handled:

*Si aquel magno Alexandre siendo junto
Al sepulchro de Achiles, llora en vano
Embidioso de ver aquella mano
Que a la vida le torna de difunto,
Llore el siglo pasado todo junto
Y el que después verná, del Valenciano
Cuyo pincel las obras del greciano
Escurece y de Apeles el transunto;
Y alégrese mi rostro al proprio agora,
Tan vivo que el retrato al mundo espanta
Viendo una grande hystoria aquí succinta.
Mas el pintor que junto a Turia mora,
Queze, pues no ay Homero que dél cante,
Como otro Apeles de Dardanio pinta.³*

*Giunto Alexandre a la famosa tomba
Del fero Achille, sospirando díase:
—O fortunato, che sì chiara tromba
Trovaati, e chi di te sì alto scriasse!
Ma questa pura e candida colomba,
A cui non so s'al mondo mai par visse,
Nel mio stil frale assai poco rimbomba:
Così son le sue sorti a ciascun fiase!
Che d'Omero dignissima e d'Orfeo,
O del pastor ch'ancor Mantova onora,
Ch'andassen sempre lei sola cantando,
Stella difforme, e fato sol qui reo,
Commise a tal, che 'l suo bel nome adora,
Ma forse seema sue lode parlando.⁴*

¹ See an unedited poem included in V. Laurenza, *Il Canzoniere di Luigi Tansillo* (Malta, 1908).

² Additional details are given in the *Biblioteca del Murciano*, pp. 654-64.

³ Most of the poems cited from the *Floresta* are in Book II. There is no pagination.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 338.

The following sonnet, similar in idea to one by Aquilano and Cetina, involves a figure rare in Petrarchistic poetry. A comparison of the three compositions shows that Ramírez Pagán's poem appears to be somewhat more closely related to Aquilano's sonnet than Cetina's. It is probable that there existed an Italian version intermediary between that of Aquilano and the two Spaniards. Withers (p. 37) prefaces his citation of Serafino's poem with the words:

It was a current superstition during the Middle Ages, and even centuries later, that blood would gush from the wounds of a dead man if his murderer approached and looked at him. Serafino Aquilano, with his customary tendency to emphasize the exaggerated and fantastical, makes use of this idea to explain the effect of the presence of his "diva" upon his own person, figuratively lifeless from despair.

Si alguno de herida muerto ha sido
Y el matador después su cuerpo mira,
Es experiencia cierta que respira
Sangre por el lugar do fué herido.
Así, señora, yo muerto y perdido
De vuestro desamor, soberbia y yra,
Por los ojos se entró la aguda vira;
En ver al matador sangre ha salido.
O fué que no hallando otros más claros
Camino para veros qual solía,
Por allí el corazón vino a miraros,
Y tal impetu traxo y agonía
Que por mejor salir a contemplaros
A fuerza por los ojos se salía.

Un om che a mala morte ucciso sia,
Privato d'ogni spirito per molte ore,
Sopravenendo al corpo el mal fattore
Butta sangue la piaga come pria.
Se questo in un che al viver non ha via
Natura al li presta tal vigore,
Che ancor che in lui non sia alcun valore
Che tal effetto pur possibil fia,
Et io che vivo ancor morendo viva
In me non fia possibil tal effetto
Soprapiugnendo l'amica mia diva?
Natural fu d'animo e non difetto
Mutarmi di color che 'l cor bolliva
D'amor, vedendo a chi me fe' soggetto.¹

An imitation of a poem by Castiglione appears to have been drawn from the 1545 *Rime diverse*:

Mis suspiros y lágrimas tropheos
Son y manjar de la enemiga mía;
Con esto engorda y cría,
Esto es su desmeor y sus arreos.
Mas si junta a la muerte vehe mi vida,
Con un dulce socorro así me esfuerça
Que de mi muerte cercana me defiende;
Mas luego que recobro alguna fuerça,
Nuevo tributo pide, endurecida,
De lágrimas la hambre que esto atiende;
Y yo viendo que el bien así me offende
Huyo el remedio que al dolor conviene,
Temiendo el mal que viene
Junto al placer que piden mis deseos.

Queste lagrime mie, questi sospiri
Son dolce cibo de la mia nemica,
Ond'ella si nutrica,
Et di ciò solo appaga i suoi desiri.
Però, se giunta al fin mia vita vede,
Qualche dolce soccorso porge al core,
Che da propinqua morte lo difende.
Et tosto ch'ei ripiglia il suo vigore,
Di lagrime e sospir tributo chiede
L'ingorda fame, che tal cibo attende:
Ond'io, poi che 'l mio ben tanto m'offende,
Fuggo rimedio che 'l dolor contempre;
Temendo non pur sempre
Si vicini al piacer sian i martiri.²

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 194. Cetina's sonnet begins (*op. cit.*, p. 52):

"Cosa es cierta, señora, y muy sabida
Aunque el secreto della está encubierto,
Que lanza de sí sangre un cuerpo muerto
Si se pone a mirarlo el homicida. ..."

² *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

Three sonnets are imitated from a second Italian anthology first printed in 1547. The first is a pastoral sonnet from Petronio Barbato:

A vezes deste angosto alto collado
Los ojos buelvo a la florida parte,
Do el tranquilo Segura cerca y parte
Mi dulce nido en vueltas prolongado.
I digo: lugar bello a tí es dado
Ver mi Marfira en quien sola reparte
Tantas lindesas la natura y el arte.
Yo solo aquí de luz estoy privado,
Tú alegre de plazer, yo mar de llanto,
Tú muy templado abril, yo siempre in-
vierno,
Tú día claro, yo la noche oscura,
Tú risa sin cesar, yo siempre llanto;
Tú paraíso, yo mortal infierno,
Que no puedo alcançar en tí ventura.

Talhor da questo angusto altero colle
Girando gli occhi a la fiorita parte
Che il tranquillo Topin circonda, e sparte
Il mio bel nido col rio torto e molle,
Dico: o bel loco, a tè non si tolle
Veder mia bella donna, ove consparte
Han lor ricchezze la natura e l'arte;
Io sto qui cieco ogn'hor come il ciel volle.
Tu sempre alberghi gioia, io tristi pianti;
Tu vagho Aprile, ed io sempre il verno;

Tu chiaro giorno, io fera notte oscura;
Io meste voci, tu soavi canti;
Tu paradiso, ed io lasso un inferno;
Che non posso cangiar teco ventura?¹

The second is translated from one by Pietro Barignano, which, in turn, is imitated from Petrarch's *Passa la nave mia*:

Corre la barca mía prompta y segura,
Con viento de aspiros en mar de llanto,
Bajo el gobierno de aquel ángel sancto
Que da salva ribera a mí ventura.
Ni la fortuna tempestuosa y dura,
Porque el barco amenaze a cada canto,
Puede esquimar de mí esperanza tanto
Que 'l corazón mío tema desventura.
Tal vez salta el piloto, el orça tuerça,
Torna a proa que la ola se desmanda;
Ya nos buelve al camino do partía,
Dando marros por una y otra banda;

Aunque tempesta y agua el viento esfu-
erce,
Un puerto me promete de alegría.

Corre la nave mia pronta e sicura,
Col vento de sospir, un mar di pianto,
Sotto 'l governo di quel Angel santo,
Che poggia a riva d'ogni mia ventura.
Nè può Fortuna tempestosa e dura,
Perchè 'l legno minacci in ciascun canto,
Scemar de l'alta mia speranza tanto
Che punto m'habbia in cor luoco paura.
Talhor ecco il nocchier che salta a l'orza,
A torne in prora accortamente l'onda;
Poi torna a buon camin ove si parte.
Così francheggia, hor questa, hor quella
sponda,

Da la tempesta e l'acqua, e 'l vento sforza,

Promettendomi il porto con quest'arte.²

In spite of Ramírez' adding a sentimental touch by changing the sex of the recipient of his pastoral gifts, awkward phraseology makes the following poem much inferior to its source—a poem by B. Gotti-fredi:

«La flor más bella que esta playa cría
El fruto destes árboles umbreros,—
Dardanio dice, —que otros más her-
mosos
Producir la natura no podría,
Todos serán de la pastora mía.

«I più bei fior di questa spiaggia, e i frutti
Di questi ombrosi e teneri arboscelli,—
Bargo dicea, —di cui più vaghi e belli

Non fur da la natura unqua prodotti,
Del mio bel pastorel saranno tutti.

¹ Delle rime di diversi nobili huomini et eccellenti poeti nella lingua thoscana. Libro Secondo (Venice, 1548), p. 155.

² Op. cit., p. 63.

Destos dulce licor, de allí olorosos
 Ramos, que a los cabellos más preciosos
 Ponga en esta guirnalda que texta.
 Así estuviese aquí mientras la adorno,
 Los ojos viesse yo llenos de amores,
 Presagio de mi bien, habla que admira.²
 Y en callando el pastor vino Marfira;
 Renverdecer la yerba, abrir las flores
 Hizo, y arder de amor la selva en torno.

Di questi havrà dolce liquor, di quelli
 Soave odor gli aurati suoi capelli,
 Cinto in ghirlanda di mia man ridutti.
 Così foss'egli hor meco in bel soggiorno;
 Io que 'begli occhi del mio ben presaghi
 Mirassi intento al tuo parlar divino.²
 Tacendosi il pastor, giunse Lucrino;
 Si fe l'erba più verde e i fior più vaghi,
 Et tutte arser d'amor le selve intorno.¹

The fourth imitation from the second *Rime diverse* is an epitaph from L'Unico Aretino. In this case the imitation is quite the equal of its original:

EN LA SEPULTURA DE NIOBE

La Reyna Niobe soy; mi muerte dura
 Los tristes solos lean a porfia,
 Siete hijos me dió y siete natura,
 Y siete y siete me quitó en un día.
 Después dió al mármol, mármol sepultura,
 Porque el cielo me ha vuelto en piedra fría;
 Vea el que no lo crehe el vaso abierto,
 Que piedra en piedra está, y no cuerpo
 muerto.³

Niobe son; legga mia sorte dura
 Chi miser è, non chi mai non si dolse.
 Sette e sette figliuol mi diè natura,
 E sette e sette un giorno sol mi tolse;
 Poi fè 'l marmore al marmor sepoltura,
 Perchè 'l ciel me, Regina, in pietra volse;
 E se non credi, apri 'l sepolcro basso,
 Non cener trovarai, ma sasso in sasso.³

An unusual sonnet by Querenghi, one of those verbal *tours de force* which delighted the Cinquecentists, Ramírez translated literally, probably from an Italian anthology first printed in 1553:

A UNA PARTIDA RIFITIENDO VIDA EN TODOS

LOS VERSOS

¡Ay vida mía, si en vos una hora
 Bivir en esta vida no podría,
 Prestad ayuda a esta vida mía
 Que sólo en vuestra vida bive y mora!
 Vos sola soys mi vida, y sed agora,
 ¡Ay dulce vida en mí partir la vía,
 Porque amarga la vida me sería,
 Si no, vida, no os amasse en toda hora!
 Adonde voy no hay vida, y si sostengo

Deh vita mia, se, di voi senza, un hora
 Viver in questa vita io non podría,
 Porgete aiuto a questa vita mia,
 Che nella vita vostra sol dimora.
 Sola vita mi sete, e sete ancora,
 A dolce vita di salir la vía;
 Et amara la vita mia sería
 S'io non amassi voi, mia vita, ogn'hora.
 Né trovo a la mia vita altro sostegno

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

² In *Elegía quarta* "En la muerte de Miguel Ramírez Pagán padre del autor, a su hermano, Hierónimo Ramírez, estando en Italia," the poet curiously echoes this epitaph in his opening verses:

"Los hijos de Niobe afligidos,
 Con las flechas de Apolo y de Diana
 Contra razón mortalmente heridos,
 No llorarian tan de buena gana
 La madre convertida en mármol frío,
 Ni la piedra dixeran inhumana
 Si encima del sepulchro lastimero,
 Que de mármol mármol encubría,
 Vieran hijos de madre el fin postrero."

³ *Delle rime di diversi nobili huomini et eccellenti poeti nella lingua thoscana. Libro Secondo* (Venice, 1548), p. 159v.

La vida por vos, es que podéis darme
Vida la más alegre y escogida.
Que si a vos, vida mía, presto no vengo,
Podéis sin vida luego acá contarne,
Pues sólo en vos, mi muerte, está mi vida.¹

Di voi, che di mia vita unica sete
Vita, d'ogn'altra vita più gradita.
Et se di voi, mia vita, al ben non vegno,
Tosto privo di vita mi vedrete;
Chè in voi sta la mia morte e la mia
vita.²

Three more poems, two sonnets and a *tercia rima*, are, according to the captions preceding them, translations from the Tuscan. I have not been able to find the sources of two of them, but quote them here in order to complete the list of Italian imitations made by the author:

TRANSLACIÓN DEL TOSCANO

Pues que el cielo bienaventurado
Puede hacer sin ver un rostro humano
Privado del oyr, un claro y llano
Hablar, de gracia y de dulçura ornado,
Si del desseo, y de esperança armado

Al sumo tribunal va el ruego humano,
Fuesse ya fuera yo de suelo vano,

TRANSLACIÓN DEL TOSCANO
A LAS CENIZAS DE LAURA Y PETRARCHA
JUNTOS³

Laura, que entre mujeres fué en la tierra
Un vivo sol, estrella es ya en el cielo,
Premio del alta pluma, cuyo buelo
Nunca la dexará muerta, o so tierra
Mientra, haziendo al tiempo illustre
guerra
Con dulce llama de un amor del cielo,
Y mientra abrasa un corazón de yelo.

¹ Another Spanish poem having the same technique is by Doctor Garay; see *Floresta de varia poesia*, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XLII, 511.

² *Rime di diversi et eccellenti autori, raccolte da i libri da noi altre volte impressi ...* (Venezia: Giolito, 1556), p. 620. This *Raccolta* was first printed in 1553.

³ In the Introduction to Salusque Lusitano's translation of the *Canzoniere* (Venice, 1567) the same sonnet is translated without any avowal of its source:

"Laura, que un claro sol fué acá en la tierra
Es ora allá en el cielo en alto grado,
Merced d'aquella pluma, que la causado,
Que no puede su nombre só la tierra.
Mientras haziendo al tiempo illustre guerra,
Con fuego del Amor más sublimado,
Enciende e inflamma a todo pecho elado.
Pequeño mármol sus reliquias cierra,
Y abarca las cenizas escogidas
D'aquel, que puesto en el tercero cielo
Entre Dante y Beatriz ora reposa.
Tu, que miras el vaso adonde unidos
Yazen tales reliquias en el suelo,
Inclínate a una copia assí famosa."

The original was an anonymous sonnet regularly included in Italian editions of Petrarch with the comments of Vellutello or of Gesualdo printed after 1550. See, e.g., *Il Petrarca con l'espositione d'Alessandro Vellutello ... In Venetia al segno della Speranza*, MDL, p. 309s:

"Laura, ch'un sol fu tra le donne in terra,
Hor tien del cielo il più sublime honore;
Mercè di quella penna, il cui valore
Fa che mal non sarà spenta o sotterra
Mentre, facendo al tempo illustre guerra,
Con dolce foco di celeste amore
Accende e inflamma ogni gelato core.
Le sue reliquie un picciol marmo serra,
E le ceneri elette accoglie anchora
Di lui, che seco nei stellanti seggi
Fra Dante e Bice il terzo ciel congiunse.
Tu, che l'un miri, e i bassi accenti leggi,
A lor t'inchina e 'l sacro vaso honora,
Che le sante reliquie insieme aggiunse."

Que a mí enojoso, a tantos es en grado.
 Mas tú, temor bestial, al alma unida
 Con tan dulce ocasión harás que grave
 Le sea el armonía del sol sereno.
 Tal miedo me entretiene acá la vida,
 Y querer no me deja lo que quiero,
 Un ver hermoso y un hablar suave.

*Pequeño mármol sus reliquias cierra,
 Y los huesos también acoge agora
 Del que en el tercio cielo, qual lo vees,
 Entre Dante y Beatris está sentado.
 Tú que los miras, y estos versos lees,
 Aquí te inclina, el sacro vaso honora,
 Que las santas reliquias a juntado.*

TERCIA RIMA DEL TOSCANO TRADUZIDA

Todo lugar y tiempo me entristece,
 Do el summo resplandor, la divina alma
 Que busco, no lo veo ni parece.

Véome alejado de aquella vista alma
 Por quien ya pasmo y ya me torno loco,
 Ya de su gloria está la vida en calma.

Mas espero volverme hasta un poco,
 Y este esperar que el corazón me cría
 Me sostiene la vida poco a poco.

No satisface ya a la vida mía
 Otro objecto si no esta clara lumbre,
 Ante quien otra escuridad sería,

Viedánmela los ríos y alta cumbre,
 Y consume mi vida aquella gloria
 Que pierdo, y no haver luz que así me
 alumbré.

Yo hago de los días larga hystoria,
 Las horas de la noche mido y cuento;
 De momentos también tengo memoria.

Y díze al desear mi pensamiento:
 ¡Quién sabe que aunque agora tanto pene,
 Si a fortuna mejor vuelvo contento?

No sé mi vida qué vivir sostiene,
 Ni cómo el alma puede mantenerse,
 Siendo tan flaco el hilo a do se tiene.

¡Quántas veces la lengua va a moverse,
 Para dar un suspiro, y me confieso
 Que digo lo que no podría creherse!

¡Hay me! si fuera yo con tanto exceso
 En un mirar tan bienaventurado,
 Sprito libre de hombre, carne y hueso.

No soy lejos de vos al modo usado
 Mas nuevo sospirar mi seso acorta.
 No saber quanto viva en este estado.

Veros, señora, a mí vivir conforta,
 Tanto que mayor bién no se me ofrece,
 Y un no sé que vuestro mirar importa
 Que todo, si no es veros, me intristece.

DIEGO DE FUENTES

Diego de Fuentes was probably an Aragonese. He wrote several historical works, and a life of Ausias March which is attached to Montemayor's translation of *Les Obres*.¹ In his *Cancionero*, published in Zaragoza in 1563, the author translates two sonnets from Petrarch. On the first is the superscription *Soneto de Petrarca*:

Dexadme en paz, o duros pensamientos,²
 ¿No vastava que Amor, Fortuna y Muerte
 Cercaron mi poder y triste suerte
 Sin serme más contrarios mis cimientos?
 Y tú, mi corazón, ¿qué nuevos cuentos
 Te hazen desleal siendo tan fuerte,
 Ingrato y contra mí? Dí quién bolverte
 Te hizo y renunciar tus aposentos?
 De ti veo yo que Amor su ser conlla,
 En ti Fortuna tiende su vandera
 Y Muerte la memoria de su tiro.
 En fin que 'l menos daño es que yo muera,
 Pues tan errada va mi fantasía
 Por culpa de lo qual de hoy más te miro.³

Datemi pace, o duri miei pensieri:
 Non basta ben ch'Amor, Fortuna e Morte
 Mi fanno guerra intorno o 'n su le porte,
 Senza trovarmi dentro altri guerrieri?
 Et tu, mio cor, ancor se' pur qual eri?
 Disleal a me sol; che fere scorte
 Vai ricettando, e se' fatto consorte
 De' miei nemici sì pronti e leggieri.
 In te i secreti suoi messaggi Amore,
 In te spiega Fortuna ogni sua pompa,
 E Morte la memoria di quel colpo
 Che l'avanzo di me conven che rompa;
 In te i vaghi pensier s'arman d'errore:
 Per che d'ogni mio mal te solo incolpo.⁴

The second is an awkward version of little literary merit:

La vida huye, no queda un momento,
 La muerte viene a furia a sus jornadas,
 Y las presentes cosas y passadas
 Me tienen y futuras descontento.
 Acuerdo y esperanza con tormento
 Me dan de acá y de allá dos mil pisadas,
 Serían ya mil vidas acabadas
 Si no diese lugar al pensamiento.
 Mas buelvo sobre mí, quando gozava
 De ver un resplandor, mas luego al punto
 Rebuelve un torbellino que lo acaba.
 Pues veo a la fortuna ciega y brava
 Echándose en el mar como a difunto,
 Privándose del sol que me alumbrava.⁵

La vita fugge e non s'arresta una ora,
 E la morte vien dietro a gran giornate,
 E le cose presenti e le passate
 Mi danno guerra, e le future ancora;
 E 'l rimembrare e l'aspettar m'accora
 Or quinci or quindi, sì che 'n veritate,
 Se non ch' i' ho di me stesso pietate,
 I' sarei già di questi pensier fora.
 Tornami avanti s'alcun dolce mai
 Ebbe 'l cor tristo; e poi da l'altra parte
 Veggio al mio navigar turbati i venti:
 Veggio fortuna in porto, e stanco omai
 Il mio nocchier, e rotte arbore e sarte,
 E i lumi bei che mirar soglio, spenti.⁶

¹ See Nicolas Antonio, *Biblioteca hispana nova*, p. 284, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, XIII, 303, n. 1.

² The first line is taken from Boscán's imitation (see *Obras* [Knapp ed.; Madrid, 1875], p. 181).

³ *Op. cit.*, fol. lviii.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 440.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, fol. lviii.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 439.

GREGORIO DE SILVESTRE

Silvestre's anti-Petrarchistic leanings did not prevent him from making direct use of his enemy's material. Here is a sonnet the treatment and substance of which coincide sufficiently to prove it another derivative from the *Canzoniere*:

Aora me derribe la fortuna
En el lugar más baxo y abatido,
Aora de ventura esté subido
Encima de los cuernos de la luna;
Aora del infierno en la laguna
De sed y hambre un Tántalo oprimido;
Aora en el oficio detenido
Que tienen los cinquenta menos una;
Aora desterrado en el desierto
En la región más fría o más caliente,
Desnudo al sol, al yelo, en la arena;
Aora enfermo y si es posible, muerto,
Terná siempre mi alma allí presente
La imagen por quien vivo en tanta pena.¹

Pommi ove 'l Sole occide i fiori e l'erba,
O dove vince lui il ghiaccio e la neve;
Pommi ov'è 'l carro suo temprato e leve,
Et ov'è chi ce 'l rende o chi ce 'l serba:
Pommi in umil fortuna od in superba,
Al dolce aere sereno, al fosco e greve;
Pommi a la notte, al dì lungo ed al breve,
A la matura etate od a l'acerba:
Pommi in cielo od in terra od in abisso,
In alto poggio, in valle ima e palustre,
Liberò spirito od a' suoi membri affisso:
Pommi con fama oscura o con illustre:
Sarò qual fui, vivrò com'io son visso,
Continuando il mio sospir trillustre.²

JUAN DE LA CUEVA³

Juan de la Cueva thoroughly saturated himself with the lyric spirit of the *Cinquecento*. In common with Garcilaso, Camoëns, and Herrera, his sonnets are rarely translations but rather echoes from one or more Italian poems. In the first poem cited Cueva borrows the technique of a sonnet of Petrarch:

Díxome Amor en viéndom'enlasado
Entre las crespas hebras de oro puro,
Por quien el alma en dulce fuego apuro
DON' Nadie mereció verse abrasado.
FE muestras en tu pena i tu cuytado,
Y en la LID corazón firme i seguro
Por dond'en tu PAsión te doi seguro,
Que será DE LA PAZ galardonado.
Esta promessa fué tan poderosa
Que di crédito a Amor: y le di entrada
En el alma do el mismo estampó el nombre,
Que yo canto con lira sonora
Aquella vida ya olvidada,
Quando del que aora soi me vi otr'ombre.⁴

Quando io movo i sospiri a chiamar voi
E 'l nome che nel cor mi scrisse Amore,
LAudando s'incomincia udir di fore
Il suon de' primi dolci accenti suoi;
Vostro stato REal, ch'encontro poi,
Raddoppia a l'alta impresa il mio valore:
Ma TAcí, grida il fin, che farle onore
E d'altri omeri soma che da' tuoi.
Così LAudare e REverire insegna
La voce stessa, pur ch'altri vi chiami,
O d'ogni reverenza e d'onor degna:

Se non che forse Apollo si disdegna
Ch'a parlar de' suoi sempre verdi rami
Lingua mortal presuntuosa vegna.⁵

¹ Obras (Lisbon, 1592), p. 359.

² Op. cit., pp. 303-4.

³ Cueva probably wrote most of his sonnets some time before the publication of his *Obras* (Seville, 1582). Many of his compositions appear in the manuscript *cancionero: Flores de varia poesia* (Mexico, 1577).

⁴ Obras, p. 14. Cf. with last verse, line 4, Son. I, of the *Canzoniere*: *Quand' era in parte altr' nom da quel ch' i' sono*.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 112.

The next four sonnets develop the central idea of four poems of Petrarch; they might easily pass as original compositions:

El labrador del iugo trabajador

Desata el buei a la coyunda asido,
I el repara el cansancio que a sufrido,
Entregándose al sueño blando ocioso. ...

Cuando descansan hombres y animales,
Yo sólo embuelto en lágrimas i enojos,
Sin que se acabe la congoxa mfa,
Sufro el rigor de mis eternos males.¹

El mar cuando está airado i furioso
De la Eólica esquadra combatido,
Suele mudar el curso embravecido,
I mostrarse tranquilo i con reposo;
Febo sigue su ira presuroso,
I acaba su camino dirigido,
Donde de su trabajo es guarecido
En el llegar de Tetis deleitoso.
Solás mis penas, solos mis enojos
No tienen fin, no se acaba su porfia,
Con ver de mi peligro las señales;
Que el alma, dando crédito a los ojos,
Se dexa ir por la engañosa vía
A padecer en penas inmortales.²

Fué mi alma en su dulce prisión puesta
Del año el quinto mes al tercer día,
Quando la ecelsa Hispalis hazía
A la sagrada cruz solemne fiesta.
Toda la gente al plazer dispuesta
Alegre a todas partes discurría;
Zéfiro el suave aliento sacudía
De las flores que Cloris nos empresta;
En este alegre día fué mi llanto,
En aquel deleyte mi tormento
I en tal descanso se encendió mi fuego.
Aquí tuvo principio mi quebranto,
Aquí cautivó Amor mi pensamiento,
De aquella que jamás le da sosiego.³

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 168-71.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 24. The first two lines recall vss. 12 and 13 of Petrarch's sonnet (*op. cit.*, pp. 375-76):

"Mille trecento ventisette, a punto
Su l'ora prima, il dì sesto d'aprile. ..."

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 110-11.

Ne la stagion che 'l ciel rapido inchina

L'avaro sappador l'arme riprende,
E con parole e con alpestre note
Ogni graveza del suo petto sgombra:

Veggio la sera i buoi tornare sciolti ...
E gli uomini e le donne
E 'l mondo e gli animali
Aquetino i lor mali,
Fine non pongo al mio obstinato affanno. ...⁴

L'aere gravato, e l'importuna nebbia
Compressa intorno da rabbiosi venti,
Tosto conven che si converta in pioggia;
E già son quasi di cristallo i fiumi,
E 'n vece de l'erbetta, per le valli
Non se ved'altro che pruine e ghiaccio ...
In picciol tempo passa ogni gran pioggia:
E 'l caldo fa sparir le nevi e 'l ghiaccio,
Di che vanno superbi in vista i fiumi ...
Ma, lasso! a me non val fiorir de valli;
Anzi piango al sereno et a la pioggia,
Et a' gelati et a' soavi venti.⁵

Era il giorno ch'al sol si scoloraro
Per la pietà del suo fattore i rai,
Quando i' fui preso, e non me ne guardai,
Che i be' vostr'occhi, donna, mi legaro.
Tempo non mi pareo da far riparo
Contra colpi d'Amor; perchè m'andai
Secur, senza sospetto; onde i miei guai
Nel commune dolor s'incominciaro.
Trovommi Amor del tutto disarmato,
Et aperta la via per gli occhi al core,
Che di lacrime son fatti uscìo e varco.
Però, al mio parer, non li fu onore
Ferir me de saetta in quello stato,
A voi armata non mostrar pur l'arco.⁶

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 86s.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 188-89.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 188-89.

Yo me voy consumiendo en un desseo,
Que mi esperança tiene por mí vano,
Que no puedo de mí darle de mano,
Aunque más lo procuro, i más desseo,
Dentro vive en mi alma, y dentro veo
Qu' es imposible, i cuanto intento en
vano,

Lo que arriesgo a perder i lo que gano
En seguir tras mi loco devaneo.
Mas ¡ay, triste de mí! que no es possible
Desistir de tan alto pensamiento
Quien vió lo que vi, aunque vi mi muerte.
Lléveme Amor tras mi desseo terrible,
Que el premio al que bien ama es el tor-
mento,

Aunque m'engañe, en tan dudosa suerte.¹

Si traviato è 'l folle mi' desio
A seguir costei che 'n fuga è volta,
Che de' lacci d'Amor leggiera e sciolta
Vola dinanzi al lento correr mio,
Che, quanto richiamando più l'envio
Per la sicura strada, men m'ascolta;

Ne mi vale spronarlo o dargli volta,
Ch'Amor per sua natura il fa restio.
E poi che 'l fren per forza a se raccoglie,
I' mi rimango in signoria di lui,
Che mal mio grado a morte mi trasporta:
Sol per venir al lauro onde si coglie
Acerbo frutto, che le piaghe altrui,

Gustando, afflige più che non conforta.²

The octave of the following sonnet is imitated from Aquilano:

Cantando Orfeo con dorada lira,
Las almas suspendió del reino oscuro,
I a los ministros del castigo duro
Hizo parar la horrible i çurda ira.
Y yo cantando veo que se alça
Un ángel que desdefia mi amor puro,
Y hecho de diamante un fixo muro,
Oye mi canto i mi tormento mira.
Renuévase el dolor con nuevo llanto
En mi alma, mirando la estrañeza
De aver piedad do digo i donde falta.
Que corrido de mi duelo al quebranto,
Viendo el yerro, que usó naturaleza
En hazer sin pietad beldad tan alta.³

Orpheo cantando con l'aurata cetra
Mosse quell'ombre impallidite e smorte;
Che anchor là dentro alle tartaree porte
Da qualche tempo pur pietà si impetra.
Et io piangendo harei mosso una petra;
Ma come piace alla fatal mia sorte,
Combatto di adamante un cor più forte,
Che per ingegno alcun mai non si spetra.
Priego una alpestra e dispietata tygre,
Un'alma sorda che 'l pregar non ode;
Anzi ode, e vede, e del mio mal si pasce.
Son le mie rime a quella altera pigre,
E di stracciarmi si triumph a gode;
E così va chi sfortunato nasce.⁴

In another sonnet the first quatrain derives from a poem of Giraldi:

Cual suele el paxarillo a quien la liga
Por un cabo i por otro cife i prende,
Que cuanto más su libertad pretende

Tanto en la prisión más se prende i li-
ga. ...⁵

Come avviene ad angel, che tra bei rami
Preso sia al visco, e batta al fuggir l'ale,
Che più s'inveschia, e men sempre gli
vale,

Quanto la libertà par che più brami. ...⁶

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 52v.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 89v.

⁴ *Opere* (Venice, 1505), B4.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁶ *Le fiamme* (Venice, 1548), p. 24.

PEDRO LAÍNEZ

The following poem by Pedro Laínez bearing the caption *De Toscano* is one of the rare translations in Spanish meters, *pie quebrado*, of a Petrarchan sonnet:

Mil vezes os e ofrecido,
O mi enemiga y señora,
El corazón,
Por tener paz algún ora
Con vuestros ojos que an sido
Su prisión;
Mas tenéis tal presunción
Desde aquel punto que vistes
Ser tan bellos,
Que mirar en mi pasión
Por desonrra lo tuvistes
Vos y ellos.
No sé, triste, qué hazer
Deste corazón cuitado
Que se muere,
Que si le quiere coger
Otra dama, es escusado
Que el no quiere,
Pues ser mío no lo espere,
Que jamás a de tornar
A mi poder,
Porque si vuestro no fuere,
No le tengo yo de amar;
Ni puede ser.
Assí que si le destierro,
Vos no querréis recojelle.
¿Qué será?
Que por no cometer yerro,
Aunque otra quiera acogelle,
El no irá.
Si está solo, morirá
Por culpa de ambos a dos,
¡Ay de mí!
Mas mayor culpa será
La vuestra, pues quiere a vos
Mas que a mí.¹

Mille fiate, o dolce mia guerrera,
Per aver co' begli occhi vostri pace,
V'aggio proferto il cor; ma voi non piace
Mirar sì basso colla mente altera.
E se di lui fors'altra donna spera,
Vive in speranza debile e fallace;
Mio, perche sdegno ciò ch'a voi dispiace,
Esser non può già mai così com'era.
Or s'io lo scaccio, et e' non trova in voi
Ne l'exilio infelice alcun soccorso,
Nè sa star sol, nè gire ov'altri il chiama,
Porla smarrir il suo natural corso:
Che grave colpa fia d'ambeduo noi:
E tanto più de voi, quanto più v'ama.²

¹ MS Esp. 314 in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, fols. 51r-52, also in MS Esp. 371, fols. 82r-83r, in the same library.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

Lafnez translates a curious poem with the rhyme-endings in *muerte-vida* from Goselini:

La vida que yo paso es propia muerte,	«La vita, Amor, ch'io vivo, è proprio morte,
Y aun deve ser peor tan triste vida,	Anzi peggior che morte è la mia vita;
Porque suele dar sin muerte a la vida,	Suol finire morte una penosa vita;
Y esta vida no acaba con la muerte.	Ma la mia vita non ha fin per morte.
Con dos hermosos ojos me das muerte,	Con due begli occhi hor mi conduci a morte,
Amor, y con los mismos me das vida,	E co' medesmi hor mi rimeni in vita;
Mesclando de tal suerte muerte y vida,	E mesci, i' non so come, e morte, e vita
Que igualmente en un punto hay vida y muerte.	Si, che provo ad un tempo e vita, e morte.
Ruégote, alto Señor, que me das vida,	Perchè homai, signor mio, dammi altra vita,
O si quieres que muera, me das muerte	Se viver deggio; o dammi un'altra morte,
Que acabe de acabarme, que esa es vida.	Poi che morir non posso in simil vita.»
«Sigue los claros ojos que dan muerte,	«Taci, e i begli occhi adora, ond'hor hai morte;
Que en ellos hallarás eterna vida,»	Ch'indi havrai se ben miri, eterna vita;
Responde Amor; y así desseo la muerte. ¹	Vita de' miei seguaci è questa morte.» ²

FRAY JAYME DE TORRES

Fray Jayme de Torres in his *Divina y varia poesia* (Huesca, 1579) in one instance (p. 80v) copies the manner of Malipiero's *Petrarca spirituale* by giving a spiritualized version of Petrarch's *Passa la nave mia*:

En triste noche lóbrega y oscura,	Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio
Del norte de mi Dios descarriado,	Per aspro mare, a mezzanotte, il verno,
Qual rota navesilla en mar airado,	Infra Scilla e Caribdi; e al governo
Navego por el mar de mi locura,	Sta l'interno tiran nemico mio.
Sin temor de peñasco, o roca dura,	A ciascun remo un pensier pronto e rio,
De enfermedad, o caso desastrado;	Che la tempesta e 'l fin par ch'habbia a scherno;
En piélago de vicios engolfado	La vela rompe un vento humido, eterno,
Buscando voy el fin de mi ventura.	Di sospir, di speranze e di desio.
Razón, que es el piloto, ha ya tendido	Pioggia di lagrimar, nebbia di sdegni
Las velas del querer a todos vientos,	Bagna e rallenta le già stanche sarte,
Y así hieren en mí con desconcierto.	Che son d'error con ignorantia attorto.
Immenso Dios, si me echas en olvido,	Scopri, prego, O Iesu, gli usati segni
Los golpes deste mar son tan violentos,	Di tue pietà, e la ragione e l'arte
Qu'es imposible verme en dulce puerto.	Sveglia, al che sperar possa del porto. ³ —

¹ *Op. cit.*, fol. 23v.

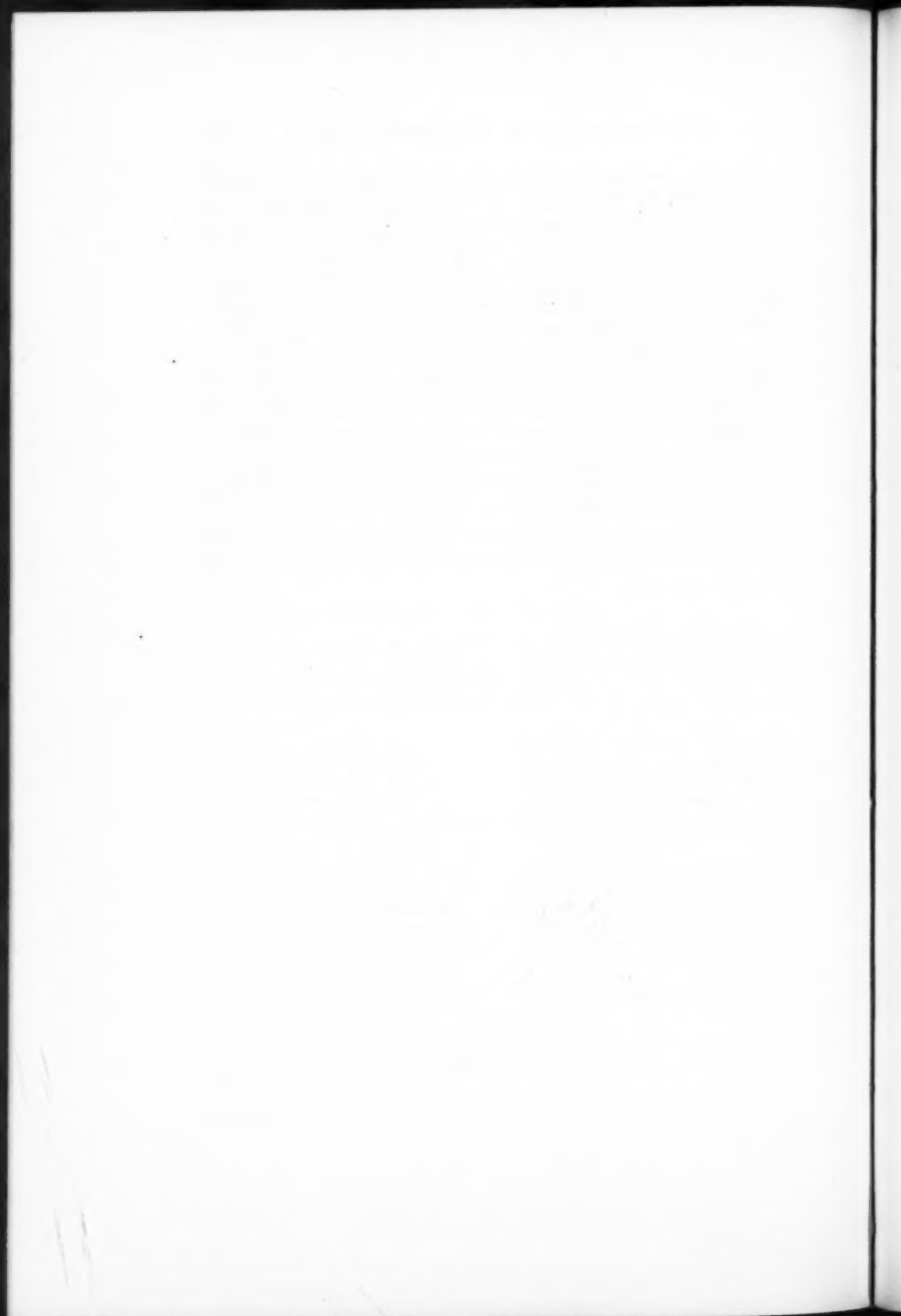
² *Rime* (Venice, 1581), p. 101. (There were other *cinqueto* sonnets with the same *morte-vida* scheme; e.g., Lodovico Martelli, *Opere* (Firenze, 1548), p. 27: *Io vo chiamando dolcemente morte*....)

³ *Il Petrarca spirituale di Frate Hieronimo Malipiero* ... (Venetia, 1567), p. 40. (This was first printed in 1536.) Cf. Petrarch, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

We have already noted that the chief models for the Spanish Petrarchists of the first phase were Petrarch and Ausias March. Petrarch continued as the favorite of the younger generation; but among its many other models it showed no special preference for any single poet. An examination of all the available evidence, however, suggests that the better-known Italian poets of the *Cinquecento*—Bembo, Bernardo Tasso, Ariosto, Sannazaro, and Tansillo—were perhaps imitated somewhat more frequently than the writers of lesser fame. From the beginning, Spanish Petrarchism as a movement had lacked sincerity and feeling, and had shown a weakness for conceits, strained similes and metaphors, and other mannerisms. These tendencies naturally became more obvious still in the writers of the newer generation; for so often (in contrast to the contemporaries of Boscán, who had drawn more directly from fresher and more genuinely poetic sources of inspiration) they sought their models in Italian poets in whom the poetic instinct was all but dead, and whose merits consisted mainly in artistry of verbal expression.

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THE PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH PRETERIT

THE present article is an attempt to establish a theory for the development of Portuguese and Spanish preterits which shall explain at the same time the open *e* [e] in the endings of Portuguese strong preterits and the absence of yod in the formation of Spanish weak preterits of the second conjugation.

It is customary to assume that the Latin third conjugation disappeared in Portuguese and Spanish, verbs of this conjugation passing over to the second.¹ While it is admitted that much confusion existed between the second, third, and fourth conjugations (in the sense that verbs passed from one conjugation to another), this assumption, which seems entirely based on the accent of the infinitive, the first and second persons plural of the present indicative, and the second person plural of the imperative, must, I believe, be rejected. What actually happened was rather a fusion into a new conjugation of forms taken from both the second and third conjugations, except for a few isolated forms now called irregular, particularly in the perfect, where several strong forms continued their independent development. For the sake of convenience of presentation, we shall consider all four conjugations as persisting in the perfect and the strong perfect as being the exclusive appurtenance of the third conjugation.

The following paradigms show the changes from the classical Latin perfect into the vulgar Latin perfect of the Iberian peninsula. Although a form does not seem to exist which could be taken as a common basis of the second conjugation for all Romance languages,² we may assume that a form derived from *-ēvī*, strengthened by analogy with forms derived from *-āvī* and *-ivī*, became quite general in Portugal and Spain.³ We shall further assume that alongside such forms as

¹ R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* (5th ed.; Madrid, 1925), §§110 and 106c; F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica* (Halle, 1913), p. 91.

² W. Meyer-Lübke, "Beiträge zur romanischen Laut- und Formenlehre," *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 249.

³ For earlier opinions for and against this assumption, see Hanssen, *op. cit.*, p. 111. Menéndez Pidal is opposed to it, but gives forms which support it (*op. cit.*, §119). Cf. also Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español* (Madrid, 1926), p. 381; Meyer-Lübke, *Introducción a la lingüística románica* (Madrid, 1926), §191; Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1908), §425, and Cornu, "Die portugiesische Sprache," in Groeber's *Grundriss* (2d ed.; Strassburg, 1904-6), I, 943, §§64 and 65.

dixērunt and *dixērunt* there existed a form *dixērunt*, and that strong third conjugation pluperfects and future perfects became paroxytones by analogy with verbs of the other three conjugations, e.g., *dixēram* and *dixēro* became *dixēram* and *dixēro*.¹ That is, the weak forms had become paroxytones because of the dropping of *vē*, while the strong forms became paroxytones merely by analogy with the weak forms.

I (WEAK)		II (WEAK)	
Class. Lat.	Vlg. Lat.	Class. Lat.	Vlg. Lat.
-avī	-aī	-ēvī	-ēī
-avīstī	-astī	-ēvīstī	-ēstī
-avīt	-aut	-ēvīt	-ēut
-avīmūs	-amos	-ēvīmūs	-ēmos
-avīstīs	-astes	-ēvīstīs	-ēstes
-avērūt, -avērūt	-aront	-ēvērūt, -ēvērūt	-ēront
-avēram	-aram	-ēvēram	-ēram
-avēro	-aro	-ēvēro	-ēro

III (STRONG)		IV (WEAK)	
Class. Lat.	Vlg. Lat.	Class. Lat.	Vlg. Lat.
-ī	-ī	-īvī, -ii	-ī
-īstī	-ēstī	-īvīstī	-īstī
-īt	-ē	-īvīt	-īut
-īmūs	-ēmos	-īvīmūs	-īmus
-īstīs	-ēstes	-īvīstīs	-īstes
-ērūt, -ērūt	-ēront	-īvērūt, -īvērūt	-īront
-ēram	-ēram	-īvēram	-īram
-ēro	-ēro	-īvēro	-īro

In *-ēmos* of the third conjugation, the accent has shifted by analogy with the weak conjugations.

The following paradigms show the changes from vulgar Latin into Portuguese and Spanish:

¹ As the Latin pluperfect and future perfect disappeared in Italian, there is only one of the forms in question in that language, viz., the third person plural of the perfect. In this the accent did not shift, e.g. *dissero*. However, this shift took place sometimes in Provençal; cf. Grandgent, *Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal* (Boston, 1905), § 177. 3, *disseron*. There are many other examples in vulgar Latin of a short unchecked penult bearing the accent in a word of more than two syllables, e.g., Spanish *sugiere* < **suggērit*; for the reason for the shift in this case, see Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 139.

I

Vlg. Lat.	Portuguese	Spanish
-aī	-ei*	-é*
-astī	-aste††	-aste††
-aut	-ou	-ó
-amos	-amos§	-amos
-astes	-astes	-asteis¶
-aront	-aram	-aron
-aram	-ara	-ara
-aro	-ar	-are

II

Vlg. Lat.	Portuguese	Spanish
-ēī, -īī**	-i	-í
-estī	-este††	-iste**
-ēul	-eu	-ió††
-emos	-emos	-imos
-estes	-estes	-isteis¶
-eront	-eram	-ieron
-eram	-era	-iera
-ero	-er	-iere

* Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 9.

† The regular form would probably be *-este*, and this is found in Old Spanish (Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes*, p. 378); *-aste* is by analogy with the plural forms and the tenses derived from the perfect.

‡ Final unaccented *i* becomes *e*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 28. This rule holds equally well for Portuguese: *dixi* > *disse*; *illis* > *les*.

§ The pronunciation of *a* in this form [amu] is by analogy with the rest of the plural, and the tenses derived from the perfect. In the present indicative [amu], no such influence was exerted, there being only one other ending in accented *a*, viz., *-ais*; cf. Cornu, *op. cit.*, in *Grundriss*, I, 924. § 3.

|| *-om* > *-am*, not by analogy with the third person plural of the imperfect as Bourciez suggests (*Éléments* [Paris, 1910], p. 443), but as a result of the general confusion between final *a* and *e*; cf. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Lições de Filologia Portuguesa* (2d ed.; Lisbon, 1926), pp. 141 ff., esp. p. 145, n. 2.

¶ *-es* > *-eis* by analogy with the second person plural of other tenses; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 107.

** Accented *e* becomes *i* through the influence of a following *i*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 11. This rule applies equally well to Portuguese and Spanish; e.g., *vēni* > *vin* and *vine*; *fēci* > *fi* and *hice*.

†† The form *-iste* (cf. n. **) is found in Old Portuguese, but in modern Portuguese the accented *i* has become *e* by analogy with the third singular, the whole plural and the tenses derived from the perfect.

‡‡ All forms derived by analogy according to the theory expounded in this article are printed in bold-faced italic. Other analogical forms are discussed in the footnotes but not distinguished in any special way in the paradigms.

§§ Final unaccented *e* dropped in Portuguese after certain consonants while after others it remained. Thus: *fi* but *soube*; cf. José Joaquim Nunes, *Compêndio de Gramática Histórica Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1919), pp. 67 and 319.

||| The phonological form would be *-iste* here, as in the second conjugation (cf. nn. ** and ††).

¶¶ The accent tends to the strong vowel as in vulgar Latin; e.g., *mulserem* > *mulsi*rem; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §§ 118, and 6.

III

Vlg. Lat.	Portuguese	Spanish
-i	-(e)†§§	-e†
-estī	-este	-iste**
-e	-(e)§§	-o
-emos	-emos	-imos
-estes	-estes	-isteis¶
-eront	-eram	-ieron
-eram	-era	-iera
-ero	-er	-iere

IV

Vlg. Lat.	Portuguese	Spanish
-ī	-i	-í
-īstī	-iste	-iste
-īut	-iu	-ió¶¶
-īmos	-imos	-imos
-īstes	-istes	-isteis¶
-īront	-iram	-ieron
-īram	-ira	-iera
-īro	-ir	-iere

The Portuguese forms are more primitive than the Spanish forms, partly because the force of analogy was less active in Portuguese than in Spanish. Thus the perfects of the four Latin conjugations persist in Portuguese each with distinct characteristics. The only case of analogy is in the third conjugation where *este*, *emos*, and *estes* follow the third person plural and the derived tenses.

In Spanish there was an almost complete fusion of the second, third, and fourth conjugations. Two of the strong forms, the first and third persons singular, continued to resist the force of analogy. And even here, the ending *o* of the third person, although unaccented, probably developed by partial analogy with weak preterits. In this general fusion, *-ieron*, *-iera*, and *-iere* of the second and fourth conjugations take their *ie* from the third, while *-imos* and *-isteis* of the second and third, and *-ió* of the second take their *i* from the fourth. This latter tendency was strengthened by the regular endings *-í* and *-iste* of the second conjugation and *-iste* of the third. The play of analogy in all these forms was further guided by the differentiation originally existing in the Latin third conjugation between the vowel

of the second person singular and the first and second persons plural, on the one hand, and that of the third person plural and the derived tenses, on the other, which in Spanish thus spread to the second and fourth conjugations. In Portuguese we witness the opposite process, since this differentiation, as we have seen, disappears from the third conjugation, which in this respect follows the first, second, and fourth. In Spanish, the third conjugation is dominant. It and the fourth are complementary and furnish a combination which is subsequently adopted by the second.

In early Spanish forms like *fiziemos* and *fiziestes*, the endings must be considered as analogical with the third plural, and the tenses derived from the perfect, as we have assumed for the modern Portuguese *fizemos* and *fizestes*. This is also true of early Spanish forms like *durmiemos* and *durmiestes*.¹

Now although this fusion of conjugations was effected practically completely at a date prior to that of any known Old Spanish documents, the working of yod on a preceding unaccented vowel likewise belongs to a preliterate period. If we find *cadiot* in the *Glosses of Silos*, we also find *ficieret*.² The present theory requires the assumption that the fourth conjugation acquired the endings *-ieron*, *-iera*, and *-iere* from the third conjugation before the second did, and that the second did not acquire them until yod had ceased working. The following table of third person plural forms shows the hypothetical chronology of these changes:

Stage	II	III	IV
1—yod working.....	<i>entenderon</i>	<i>fizieron</i>	<i>sentiron</i>
2—yod working.....	<i>entenderon</i>	<i>fizieron</i>	<i>sintieron</i>
3—yod ceased working.....	<i>entendieron</i>	<i>fizieron</i>	<i>sintieron</i>

While Menéndez Pidal's theory³ of different vulgar Latin forms for the fourth conjugation in Spanish and in Portuguese would eliminate the

¹ Menéndez Pidal derives these differently; cf. *Manual*, §118a, 1.

² These forms are found among the glosses reprinted in J. D. M. Ford, *Old Spanish Readings* (Boston, 1911), pp. 3 and 5. The form *bestanio*, quoted by Pidal (*Origenes*, p. 374), shows the influence of yod; otherwise the *e* would have become *ie*. The modern form *vistan* is by analogy with verbs whose radical vowel is *e*. The *e* in the forms *seriot* and *serviot*, quoted by Pidal (*ibid.*, p. 379), must be considered as a Latinism as is also the final *t*. The form *firio* quoted from the same manuscript is pure Romance. The foregoing considerations are based on the following well-established principles: $\epsilon + yod > e$; $\epsilon > ie$; $\epsilon + yod > i$; pretonic $\epsilon > e$ and pretonic $\epsilon + yod > i$; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §§10a, 10i, 11a, 18a, 18b.

³ E.g., *dormimus* and *dormiimus*; cf. *Manual*, §118a; and note 1 above. The forms *partirunt*, *partierunt*, *servierunt*, and *partiberunt*, etc. (Menéndez Pidal, *Origenes*, pp. 39-41, and p. 380) are probably Latin, as most of the other verbs of this particular document, and therefore, of little value in the present discussion.

need for the first part of our assumption, the step from stage 1 to stage 2, it would have no bearing on the essential part of the present theory, the step from stage 2 to stage 3.

The assumptions that Portuguese open *e* and Spanish *ie* come by analogy from a syncopated perfect of *dare*,¹ e.g., *dē(dē)runt*, *dē(dē)-ram*, are entirely in accord with the present theory, which differs only by assigning to many more perfects the function of the perfect of *dare*.

The vowel of the pluperfect subjunctive followed analogically the vowel of the third person plural perfect and of the other tenses derived from the perfect. Thus we have in Portuguese *-esse*, *-esse*, and *isse*, and in Spanish *-iese*.²

It is interesting to consider the absence of yod in other forms of verbs of the second conjugation where its presence would be expected. If these verbs do not show the working of a Latin yod in the first person singular present indicative and in all of the present subjunctive, it is because many of them belonged originally to the regular third conjugation which did not have a yod, while others dropped the yod in vulgar Latin in the fusion of conjugations referred to at the beginning of this article.³ The only case remaining is the gerund, where a Romance yod exists in Spanish. This being a single case in a verb otherwise free of yod, we may assume that the force of analogy kept it unchanged. Thus we have analogical *lloviendo*, while the gerund of the more irregular *poder* is the etymological *pudiendo*.

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¹ Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes* (Paris, 1895), II, 332; Baist, "Die spanische Sprache," Groeber's *op. cit.*, I, 913, § 82; Augusto d'Almeida Cavacas, *A Língua portuguesa e sua Metafonis* (Coimbra, 1920), pp. 130 and 131; and A. Gassner, *Das alt-spanische Verbum* (Halle, 1897), §§ 363 and 372.

² *-esse* and *isse* are not necessarily analogical.

³ Several verbs retained the yod, e.g. Port. *tenho*, Sp. *tengo*, while a few, belonging to the Latin third conjugation, acquired a yod in vulgar Latin, e.g. Port. *ponho*, Sp. *pongo*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 113, 2b; in both cases the yod produced forms that are now considered as irregular.

ELYOT AND "THE BOKE CALLED CORTIGIANO
IN YTALION"

SCHOLARS of the present day have perhaps escaped the Scylla of vague assumptions about Italian influence in sixteenth-century England. But have they fallen into the Charybdis of assuming that such influence belongs only to the latter half of the century?¹ The latter view would be justified, of course, unless there is evidence against it. But there is evidence which has not been emphasized and which, I believe, has not been considered at all for its bearing on Castiglione's *Courtier* and Elyot's *Gouernour*. That evidence is in a letter from Edmund Bonner to Thomas Cromwell:

And wher ye willing to make me a good Ytalion promised unto me, longe agon, the Triumphes of Petrarche in the Ytalion tonge. I hartely pray you at this time by this beyrer, Mr. Augustine his seruant, to sende me the said Boke, with some other at your deuotion; and especially, if it please you, the boke called Cortigiano in Ytalion. . . .

This letter, published by Ellis,² was written in 1530. The casual nature of the remark about the *Cortigiano* is noteworthy: it seems to imply that Bonner had definite knowledge of Cromwell's ownership, and that Cromwell was aware of Bonner's knowledge. Such wording also suggests that the book was already being discussed among Cromwell's friends.

The existence of this letter from Bonner to Cromwell has been mentioned, at least in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; but so far as I know, the mention of the *Cortigiano* has never been the subject of comment. The biographer of Bonner, in the *DNB*, referring to the letter, remarks that Bonner wrote for "some Italian books which Cromwell had promised to lend him to improve his knowledge of the language"; and the biographer of Cromwell states that Bonner's letter

¹ Italian influence from the *Courtier* is usually discussed as if it existed only after the English translation of 1561. The *Cambridge History of English Literature* mentions the influence of the *Courtier* upon Lyly (III, 388), upon Ascham (III, 493), and analyzes the effect of Hoby's translation which "speedily became cosmopolitan in its vogue" (III, 496). There is mention of Castiglione's poetry in relation to Wyatt and Surrey, but in this connection (p. 196) no mention of the *Courtier*.

² *Original Letters* (3d ser.; London, 1846), II, 177-78.

was a reminder of a "promise to lend him the 'Triumphes of Petrarch' to help him to learn Italian."¹

Considered alone, this letter of Bonner does little more than prove that an Italian copy of the *Cortigiano* was in England as early as 1530 and was being read by other Englishmen than its owner. But it is only one of several pieces of evidence connecting Cromwell with Italy and giving evidence of his first-hand acquaintance with Italian literature. That Cromwell spent several years in Italy and was in service there as a soldier seems to be generally accepted as fact. There were probably two periods of his sojourn in Italy—one following 1504, when the "absence of further mention of him in the court rolls for some years agrees well with the supposition that he went at that time."² After a period in Flanders as clerk or secretary to the English nation at Antwerp, he was at Rome, "on what we presume to have been his second visit to Italy"; and Foxe "may be right" in assigning this second visit to about 1510.³

Besides the evidence for Cromwell's ownership of the *Cortigiano* and for his sojourn in Italy, there is reason to believe that he had an early acquaintance with Machiavelli's work and was defending his ideas. Pole recorded a conversation which he himself held with Cromwell in 1528 or 1529, on the duty of a prudent councilor to his prince. In this conversation Pole maintained that a councilor should never give advice nor do for his prince any act that would violate his own sense of honor; Cromwell argued that a councilor should study his prince, and conform to his inclination in all things.⁴ Then Cromwell recommended to Pole an "ingenious modern author who took a practical view of government and did not dream like Plato. The book was Machiavelli's celebrated treatise, 'The Prince,' which Cromwell must have possessed in manuscript, for it was not published for three or four years after."⁵

Judging by the letter from Bonner, the visits to Italy, and the early acquaintance with Machiavelli, one may reasonably assume that

¹ The first item contains a reference to Ellis, *op. cit.* (3d ser.), II, 177. The second is followed by a reference to *Calendar*, IV, No. 6346.

² See *DNB*, under "Cromwell."

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cf. the discussion of Sir Frederick and Lodovico Plus in the *Courtier*: "se un gentilomo, mentre che serve ad un principe, è obligato ad ubidirgli in tutte le cose che gli comanda, ancor che fussero disoneste e vituperose.—In cose disoneste non siamo noi obligati ad ubidire a persona alcuna.—rispose messer Federico." See *Il Cortegiano* (Milano, 1914?), p. 136.

⁵ See *DNB* under "Cromwell"; also *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV, 9, for mention of Machiavelli as a "text book to Thomas Cromwell."

Cromwell had a rather wide knowledge of Italian letters, and that he was willing to share his knowledge with acquaintances. Such willingness is clearly implied in the letter from Bonner: "And wher ye willing to make me a good Ytalion, promised unto me, longe agon, the Triumphes of Petrarch. . . ."

To the student of early English humanism, mention of the *Cortigiano* in England as early as 1530 suggests a possible connection with Elyot's *Gouernour*, published in 1531. Such a student grasps the definite program of educational, social, and governmental reform in the writings of Colet, More, Erasmus, Elyot, Vives, and Ascham; but he perceives certain shifts of emphasis in the writings of Elyot. Yet Elyot did not lack acquaintance with the views of the other English humanists, for he was a friend of More and a student in his house.¹ The individuality of his views may have sprung partly from differences in temperament, partly from other causes not yet analyzed, but partly, too, from the influence of the *Courtier*.

A few characteristic passages from Elyot, from the other English humanists, and from Castiglione will make clear the possibility of influence.

The *Gouernour* and the *Courtier* have the same controlling purpose. Castiglione said: "Voi adunque mi richiedete ch'io scriva, qual sia al parer mio la forma di Cortegiana più conveniente a gentilomo che viva in corte de' principi, per la quale egli possa e sappia perfettamente loro servir in ogni cosa ragionevole. . . ."² Elyot intended, in his first book, to explain "the beste fourme of education or bringing up of noble children from their natiuitie, in suche maner as they may be founde worthy, and also able to be gouernours of a publike weale."³

Elyot differed from the other English humanists but agreed with Castiglione in his discussion of physical education. Erasmus advocated moderate recreation but was even willing to take some risk about physical health for the sake of intellect: "We are not concerned with developing athletes, but scholars and men competent to affairs."⁴ Vives admitted recreation so that students "may be able to accomplish

¹ Watson, *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, p. 19; Croft, *Boke of the Gouernour*, I, cxxx ff.

² *Il Cortegiano* (Milano, 1914?), p. 35.

³ *Gouernour* (Everyman ed.), p. 15. (Croft's edition is not available for these references.)

⁴ Woodward, *Erasmus concerning Education* (a translation of Erasmus' work, *De pueris instituendis*), p. 202.

further work."¹ But Elyot, unlike the earlier English humanists, put much emphasis on sports—hawking, hunting, dancing, tennis, and shooting with the long bow.² Such exercises, he said, were for recreation, for health, and for profit in both war and government. Dancing, which earlier English humanists had either ignored or attacked, Elyot defended by attaching to it a complete program of moral virtues which "do expresse or sette out the figure of very nobilitie."³ Like Elyot, Castiglione advised many kinds of exercise—feats of war, horsemanship, hunting, tennis, swimming, dancing: "ma rida, sherzi, motteggi, balli e danzi, nientedimeno con tal maniera, che sempre mostri esser ingenioso e discreto, ed in ogni cosa che faccia o dica sia aggraziato."⁴

In his attitude toward government, social democracy, communism, kings, and nobility, Elyot again disagreed with the earlier English humanists and agreed with Castiglione. Erasmus, More, Colet, and Vives, with their grim attacks on kings and noblemen, lacked even the slightest hint of courtly subservience. "This law of a corrupter nature," said Colet, "is the . . . law which brought in ideas of *meum* and *tuum*—of property, that is to say, and deprivation; ideas clean contrary to a good and unsophisticated nature; for that would have a community of all things."⁵ A great prince, if unworthy, said Erasmus, "deserveth scarce to be called man, seying like the brute beastes, he is trained by affections, and is none other than a servaunt of the basest sort, seying willingly he obeith so many and so vile vices his masters." An evil man who glories in his arms and ancestry is "bothe a villaine and a bastarde, because he is so many discents disalied from vertue, whiche is the onely roote of true nobilitee."⁶ "For a good Prince is that to the Body Politick, which the Mind is to the Body Natural. What Need was there to have said a good Prince, when a bad Prince is no Prince?"⁷ "Where are now our Monarchs, who think themselves equal to the Gods themselves; and for a single Word spoken over a Glass of Wine, will immediately wage War?"⁸ More was not less outspoken: "And verelye one man to live in pleasure

¹ Watson, *Vives on Education*, p. 121.

² *Gouverneur*, Book I, Secs. XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXVI, XXVII.

³ *Ibid.*, Sec. XIX-XXV.

⁴ *Il Cortegiano* (Milano, 1914?), p. 63. See also pp. 59-66 *passim*.

⁵ *Exposition of Romans* (quoted by Lupton, *Life of Colet*, p. 74).

⁶ Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* (London, 1901), p. 22. Cf. p. 61 and *passim*.

⁷ *Colloquies* (London, 1900), II, 173.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 136.

and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a jayler."¹ Vives said: "Princes are, for the most part, of hearts so corrupt, and so intoxicated by the magnitude of their good fortune that by no art can they be reformed for the better."² "The wise man will reflect that this world is, as it were, a certain State, of which he is a citizen . . . that further, here in this State, those treasures which are collected together are to be applied to public use."³

But Elyot, on the other hand, was courtly and aristocratic in the extreme; he opposed communism; he defended "degrees" in government and the monarchical form of government; he believed in due submission of the common people, that a government might not be "a monstre with many heedes"; he stressed virtue and wisdom for his ideal governors but felt that they were not perfect unless they had also material possessions, noble rank long continued in the family, and gentility. "And they which do suppose it so to be called for that, that euery thinge shulde be to all men in commune, without discrepance of any astate or condition, be thereto moued more by sensualite than by any good reason or inclination to humanite."⁴ "Wherefore undoubtedly the best and most sure gouernaunce is by one kynge or prince, whiche ruleth onely for the weale of his people to hym subiecte."⁵ Governors, he thought, should "be chosen out of that astate of men whiche be called worshipfull, if amonge them may be founden a sufficient nombre, ornate with vertue and wisdom."⁶ Indeed, nobility and virtue were almost synonymous, he decided; for in the beginning possessions and dignity were given by the people to them "at whose vertue they meruailed, and by whose labour and industrie they received a commune benefite. . . . Also it fortuneth by the prouidence of god that of those good men were ingendred good children, who beinge brought up in vertue, and perceiuinge the cause of the aduancement of their progenitours, endeououred them selves by imitation of vertue, to be equall to them in honour and autoritie."⁷

¹ *Utopia* (London, 1910), p. 67.

² Watson, *Vives on Education*, p. 278 (complete translations of articles by Vives).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵ *Gouernour* (Everyman ed.), p. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27. Cf. pp. 128-30 also, and Elyot's *Image of Gouernaunce* [1549], leaves 99, 104, and *passim*. Instances from the humanists on these points might be multiplied almost indefinitely. See especially Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* (London, 1901), pp. 21, 22, 37; *Complaint of Peace* (Chicago, London, 1917), pp. 34-35; *Colloquies* (London,

In defense of degrees and of a monarchy, Elyot drew comparisons from the heavenly hierarchy, from the four elements, from plant and animal life, from the one sun that "ruleth over the day, and one Moone over the nyghte," from bees that have among them "one principall Bee for theyr gouernour, who excelleth all other in greatnes, yet hath he no pricke or stinge, but in hym is more knowlege than in the residue."¹

Castiglione had previously expressed the same preference for a monarchy as a government more agreeable to nature and one more like the government of God himself. Armies, ships, and buildings, he argued, are managed by one person; all parts of the human body obey the heart; animals, such as deer, cranes, and bees, have a prince or king, to whom they are most obedient; and as the sun and moon in the firmament show a certain likeness to God, so good princes show us a reflection of God's justice, reason, and understanding.²

The tone of the *Courtier* is complimentary to kings and to nobility; there are no attacks on tyrannical kings, or on nobles who lack wisdom and virtue. The following passages are characteristic:

Voglio adunque che questo nostro Cortegiano sia nato nobile e di generosa famiglia; perchè molto men si disdice ad un ignobile mancar di far operazioni virtuose, che ad uno nobile, il qual se desvia del cammino dei suoi antecessori, macula il nome della famiglia, e non solamente non acquista, ma perde il già acquistato; perchè la nobiltà è quasi una chiara lampada. ... Però intervien quasi sempre, che e nelle arme e nelle altre virtuose operazioni gli omini più segnalati sono nobili. ...³ Il Cortegiano adunque, oltre alla nobiltà, voglio che sia in questa parte fortunato, ed abbia da natura non solamente lo ingegno, e bella forma di persona e di volto, ma una certa grazia, e come si dice, un sangue, che lo faccia al primo aspetto a chiunque lo vede grato ed amabile ...⁴ avendo noi a formare un Cortegiano senza difetto alcuno, e cumulato d'ogni laude, mi par necessario farlo nobile, sì per molte altre cause, come ancor per la opinione universale, le qual subito accompagna la nobiltà.⁵

The passages which have just been cited from Colet, More, Erasmus, Vives, from Elyot, and from Castiglione do not exhaust the possibilities of contrast and comparison. As representative passages,

1900), III, 39, 43, 61-75, 92, 155; More, *Utopia* (London, 1910), pp. 57-58, 62, 127; Vives, "Dialogues," XX, XXIV, trans. complete by Watson, *Tudor School-Boy Life* (London, 1908). Likeness between Elyot and Castiglione in discussing nobility has been mentioned by Einstein, *Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902), pp. 61-62.

¹ *Gouverneur*, p. 9. See also Book I, Secs. I, II, III, *passim*.

² *Il Cortegiano* (Milano, 1914?), Quarto Libro, *passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

however, they strengthen the evidence for Elyot's early knowledge of the *Courtier*.

A record of friendly association between Thomas Cromwell and Elyot beginning earlier than the date of Bonner's letter (1530) increases the possibility that Elyot knew the *Courtier* in Italian through Cromwell. "In November, 1527, Elyot was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and in that capacity wrote to Thomas Cromwell (25 March, 1527-28) on some business which concerned the cardinal [Wolsey]. This letter, in which Elyot suggests that Cromwell should visit him at Combe, is the first sign of an intimacy which increased rapidly in the following years."¹ Hence, the opportunity was not lacking for Elyot also to become acquainted with Cromwell's copy of the *Cortigiano*. The dates involved make entirely possible a transmission of influence from the *Cortigiano* to Elyot's *Gouverneur*. Castiglione's *Courtier*, written some time between 1514 and 1524, was published at Venice by Aldus in 1528.² Bonner's letter to Cromwell, quoted in the beginning of this article, was written in 1530. Elyot's *Gouverneur* was published in 1531.

The importance of Bonner's letter and its mention of the *Cortigiano* is, then, confirmed by the additional evidence about Cromwell's knowledge of Italian letters and his desire to share that knowledge with others; by differences of thought between Elyot and the earlier English humanists who influenced him as well as by Elyot's agreement with the viewpoint of Castiglione; by evidence of intimacy between Elyot and Cromwell; and by the dates of the *Cortigiano*, of Bonner's letter, and of the *Gouverneur*. All these facts suggest that the influence of Castiglione's *Courtier* was permeating English thought much earlier than the date generally accepted; and the same facts establish a strong probability that Elyot, before he wrote the *Gouverneur*, was acquainted with "the boke called Cortigiano in Ytalion."

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¹ See *DNB* under "Elyot," both for these facts and for statements that the book "immediately acquired popularity at court" and that this popularity was probably a reason for Elyot's appointment as ambassador to the court of Charles V.

² See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, under "Castiglione"; also Bacchi's Preface to *Il Cortegiano* (Milano, 19147), p. 13: "Il Cortegiano, pubblicato primamente nell' edizione aldina del 1528, era stato abbozzato, steso, rielaborato, nel corso di parecchi anni. Il manoscritto laurenziano-ashburnhamiano, che rappresenta la forma definitiva del testo ha la data di Roma, 23 Maggio 1524."



JOHN DYER AND THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD

THAT James Thomson enjoyed the unfailing interest of his patroness the Countess of Hertford through many years I have pointed out in a recent paper based on letters and manuscript notebooks of Lady Hertford's preserved among the *Percy Family Letters and Papers* at Alnwick Castle.¹ Evidence of the Countess' interest in another young poet about whose early life and writings we have extraordinarily little knowledge may be gleaned from the same sources.

John Dyer—known chiefly for one poem, *Grongar Hill*—on his return from his travels in Italy in 1726 made the acquaintance of Aaron Hill and his circle, which at this time included Thomson, Mallet, and Richard Savage.² The volume, *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations by Several Hands*, which Savage brought out in 1726, contained among other things Savage's poem, *To Mr. John Dyer, a Painter*, Dyer's *To Mr. Savage*, and *To Aaron Hill, Esq.; on a Poem called Gideon*. Most notable, however, of the contributions to the miscellany was *Grongar Hill, by Mr. John Dyer*,³ the poet's masterpiece in its, apparently, original form, that of an irregular ode. In the same year appeared another miscellany, Lewis' *Miscellaneous Poems by Several Hands*,⁴ which included *Grongar Hill* redressed in the octosyllabic couplets with which it is ordinarily associated. A brief comparison of these two versions was published some years since by Mr. Garland Greever.⁵ Lewis' version is in the main identical with that published in Dodsley's edition of Dyer's poems in 1761, and in later collections.

The existence of intermediate versions between these two of such radically different form would seem probable. One such transition

¹ "Thomson and the Countess of Hertford," *Mod. Phil.*, XXV (1928), 439-68.

² Dorothy Brewster, *Aaron Hill: Poet, Dramatist, Projector* (New York, 1913), p. 185; *The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside and John Dyer* (ed. Robert A. Willmott; London: Routledge, 1855), p. ix.

³ *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations. By Several Hands. Published by Richard Savage, Son of the late Earl Rivers* (London: Samuel Chapman, 1726), pp. 60-66.

⁴ *Miscellaneous Poems, By Several Hands. Published by D. Lewis* (London: J. Watts, 1726), pp. 223-31.

⁵ "The Two Versions of *Grongar Hill*," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XVI (1917), 274-81.

piece I found copied in the opening pages of Lady Hertford's manuscript *Miscellany*. This version is in the octosyllabic couplets of the finished work, but preserves phrases peculiar to the ode, and some little material—experimental elaborations, presumably—not found in either of the other versions.¹ For the light it throws upon the growth of Dyer's ideas and technique, a comparison is interesting between Lady Hertford's version of the poem and that which appeared in Savage's miscellany, which I think preceded it, and that in Lewis' miscellany, which I think followed it. Lady Hertford's version reads as follows:

GRONGAR HILL²

- 1 Silent Nymph* with Curious Ey's "fancy"*
 Who the Purple Ev'ning lyes
 On the Mountains lonely van
 Beyond the noise of Busy man
 5 Contemplating the Shapes of things
 While the Yellow Linnet Sings
 Or the Tunefull Nightingale
 Charms the Forrests with her tale
 Come with all thy various hues
 10 Come and aid thy Sister Muse
 Now while Phoebus riding high
 Gives Lustre to the Land and sky
 Grongar Hill invites my Lays
 Assist in what the Eye surveys
 15 Grongar in whose Mossy Cells,
 Sweetly musing Quiet dwells
 Grongar in whose Shady Side
 [Line omitted in MS]
 So oft I have the Evening Still
 20 At the Fountain of a Rill
 Sate upon a Flow'ry Bed
 With my Hand beneath my Head
 And stray'd my Ey's or'e Towys tide
 over Wood and over mead
 25 From House to House from Hill to Hill
 Till Contemplation had her fill
 About his chequerd Sides I wind

¹ Savage's version contains 111 lines; Lady Hertford's, 174 lines; Lewis', 155 lines.

² In the notes at the end of the poem (pp. 316-17) I have set forth only striking differences which indicate reasons for my opinion as to the relation of the three versions.

- And leave the Brooks and Meads behind
And Groves and Grottos where I lay
30 And Vistos shooting Beams of Day
Wider and Wider Spreads the Vale -
As Circles on a Smooth Canal
The Mountains round (unhappy fate
Sooner or later of all height,
35 Withdraw their Summits from the Skys
And lessen as the others rise
Still the Prospect wider spreads
and Adds a Thousand Woods and Meads
Still it widens widens still
40 And sinks the newly risen Hill
Now I gain the Mountains brow
What A Prospect lyes below!
No Clouds no Vapours intervene
But the Gay the open Scene
45 Dos the face of Nature show
in all the Dyes of Heavens bow
And Swelling to Embrace the Light
Spreads around beyond the sight
Old Castles rise with Noble Pride
50 On the Cliffs erected brows
And Cast their Colours on the Tide
that Paints the Country as it flows
Breaking from the tangling Charms
Of the Woods obscuring arms
55 Towers and Battlements and Spires
Seem (from hence ascending Fires
And half his Beams Apollo Sheds
On the Yellow mountains heads
Gilds the Fleeces of the flocks
60 And Glitters on the broken Rocks.
Below me Trees unnumbered rise
And lift their Branches to the skys
The Gloomy Pine the Poplar Blue
The Yellow Beach the Sable Eugh
65 The Slender Ferr that Taper Grows
And the bigg Oak with wide Spread boughs
The next beyond the Purple Wood
Gawdy as the op'ning Dawn
Ly's a Long and Level Lawn
70 On which a Dark Hill Steep and high
holds and Charms the wandring Eye

- Deep are his feet in Towys flood
 His Sides are Cloath'd with waving wood,
 And Ancient Towers Crown his brow
 75 That Send an awfull look below
 Whose ragged walls the Ivy Creeps
 And with her Arms from falling keeps
 So both a Saf'ty from the Wind
 On Mutual Dependance find
 80 Tis now the Ravens bleak abode
 Tis now the Apartment of the Toad
 And there the Fox securly feeds
 And there the Pois'nous Adder breeds }
 Conceal'd in Ruins Moss and Weeds }
 85 While Ever and Anon there falls
 Huge Heaps of Hoary moulder'd Walls
 Yet Time has seen, that lifts the Low
 And Level lays the lofty brow,
 Has seen this broken Pile compleat }
 90 Bigg with the Vanity of State. }
 But transient is the Smile of Fate }
 A Little Rule a Little Sway
 Like Sunshine in a winters day
 So long the Monarch Grasps his hold
 95 So long the Miser Sees his Gold
 So long wee Bloom so soon we Pine
 So long we Taste so soon resign
 Life Glides away from you to mee
 The World's a Caravansary
 100 Now See the Rivers how they run
 Thro' Woods and Meads in Shade and Sun
 Sometimes Swift and sometimes Slow
 Wave succeeding wave they go
 A Various journey to the deep
 105 Like Humane Life to Endless Sleep
 Thus is Natures Vesture wrought
 To instruct our wandring Thought,
 Thus she Dresses Green and Gay
 To disperse our Cares away
 110 When wilt thou Grongar Tire the View
 Ever Charming Ever New?
 The Catracts fall the Rivers flow
 The Woody Vallys warm and low
 The windy Summits wild and high
 115 Roughly rushing on the Sky

- The Pleasant Seat the ruin'd Tower
 The Naked Rock the Shady Bower
 The Town and Village Dome and Farm
 Each give Each a Double Charm
 120 Like Pearl upon an Athiops Arm
 Here his Smooth Train the Towy leads
 Ore the long and levell meads
 Then down a black and broken Clift
 A White Stream like an Arrow Swift
 125 Shoots upon the nether ground
 And meets the Bottom with a sound
 That deafens all the Vale around
 But not the mountains lofty Brow
 The Thundring Roar remains behind
 130 And only Musick sweet and Lowe
 That comes and goes with ev'ry wind
 Thro' Softening Ether mounts the Skies
 And to my ears Melodious Dies
 See on the Summits Southern Side
 135 When the Prospect opens wide
 Where the evening gilds the Tide
 How close and small the Hedges lie
 What Streaks of meadows cross the eye
 A Step methinks may pass the stream
 140 So little distant Dangers Seem
 Like this fair Prospect Soft and Gay
 But does a truer face display
 And rougher as it nearer Grows
 Still we tread tir'd the same Course way
 145 The present's still a Cloudy Day
 O may I with my self agree
 And never Covet what I see
 Content me with an humble shade
 My Passions tamed my Wishes laid
 150 For while our wishes wildly roul
 We banish Quiet from the Soul
 Tis thus the Busie beat the air
 And misers Gather Wealth and Care
 Now even now my joys run high
 155 As on the mountains Turf I lie
 While the wanton Zephir Sings
 And in the Vale perfumes his Wings
 While the waters murmur Deep
 While the Shepherd Charms his Sheep

- 160 While the Birds unbounded flie
 And with Musick fill the sky
 Now even now my joys run high }
 Be full ye Courts be great who will
 Open wide the lofty Door
- 165 Seek her on the Marble Floor
 In vain ye Search She is not there
 In vain we search the Domes of Care
 On Grass and flow'rs Quiet only treads
 On the meads and mountain's heads
- 170 Allong with pleasure close ally'd
 Ever by each others Side
 And often by the murmuring Rill }
 Hears the Thrush while all is Still
 Within the Groves of Grongar Hill¹

PARALLEL PASSAGES IN THE VERSIONS PUBLISHED BY SAVAGE (S) AND LEWIS (L)

- L. 1:
 S. "Fancy! Nymph, that loves to lye"
 L. "Silent Nymph, with curious Eye!"
- L. 5:
 S. "Darting Notice thro' the Eye,
 Forming Thought, and feasting Sense:"
 L. "Painting fair the form of Things,"
- Ll. 13-18:
 S. "More that *Olympus* animates my Lays,
 Aid me, o'er labour'd, in its wide surveys;
 And crown its Summit with immortal Praise:
 Thou, awful *Grongar!* in whose mossy Cells,
 Sweetly musing *Quiet* dwells:
 Thou! deep, beneath whose shado'wy Side,
 Oft, my sick Mind serene Refreshment took,"
 L. "*Grongar Hill* invites my Song,
 Draw the Landskip bright and strong;
 Grongar, in whose Mossie Cells
 Sweetly-musing *Quiet* dwells:
 Grongar, in whose silent Shade,
 For the modest Muses made,"
- Ll. 23-24:
 S. "Stray'd my charm'd Eyes o'er *Towy's* wand'ring Tide,
 Swift as a Start of Thought, from Wood to Mead,"
 L. "And stray'd my Eyes o'er *Towy's* Flood,
 Over Mead, and over Wood,"
- Ll. 49-60:
 S. "White, on the rugged Cliffs, Old *Castles* rise,
 And shelter'd Villages lie warm and low,
 Close by the Streams that at their *Bases* flow.
 Each watry Face bears pictur'd Woods, and Skies,
 Where, as the Surface curls, when Breezes rise,
 Faint fairy Earthquakes tremble to the Eyes.
 Up thro' the Forest's Gloom, distinguish'd, bright,
 Tops of high Buildings catch the Light:

¹ Alnwick MS, No. 116, pp. 4-9.

The quick'ning Sun a show'ry Radiance sheds,
And lights up all the Mountain's russet Heads.
Gilds the fair Fleeces of the distant Flocks;
And, glittering, plays betwixt the broken Rocks."

- L. "Old Castles on the Cliffs arise,
Proudly tow'ring to the Skies!
Rushing from the Woods, the Spires
Seem from hence ascending Fires!
Half his beams *Apollo* sheds,
On the yellow Mountain-Heads!
Gilds the Fleeces of the Flocks;
And glitters on the broken Rocks!"

Ll. 94-99:

- S. "The Prince's Tenure in his Roofs of Gold,
Ends like the Peasant's homelier Hold;
Life's but a Road, and he who travels right,
Treats Fortune as an Inn, and rests his Night."

- L. "Is all the Proud and Mighty have,
Between the Cradle and the Grave."

Ll. 123-24:

No parallel in the other versions.

Ll. 140-43:

- S. "As Dangers scape, unseen, that are not near.
Smiling, like this fair Prospect, soft and gay,
The flatt'ring Glass of Hope our *Future* shows;
But Ills, at hand, their Face, unmask'd display,
And Fortune rougher still when nearer, grows:"

- L. "So little distant Dangers seem;
So we mistake the Future's face,
Ey'd thro' Hope's deluding Glass;
As yon Summits soft and fair,
Clad in Colours of the Air,
Which, to those who journey near,
Barren, and brown, and rough appear;
Still we tread tir'd the same coarse Way."

This transition version of *Grongar Hill* would seem to belong to a period before 1726, or early in that year. Had Dyer been presented to the Countess, or had his verses only come her way? It was the year 1726 which, with the appearance of *Winter*, saw the beginning of Lady Hertford's interest in Thomson, according to Murdoch. Did Thomson, recommended by this success, introduce his friend, John Dyer? Or did Dyer call the attention of the Countess to the young Scotch poet whose sympathetic descriptions of nature must have won the admiration of the author of *Grongar Hill*?¹

The connection between Thomson and Dyer, which seems so natural, has not, I think, been greatly emphasized. On this point, however, Lady Hertford's *Miscellany* provides new evidence. In the

¹ These and other questions raised by this paper require for their answer a new investigation of Dyer's biography. Since I am unable to undertake that at present, it seemed right to put this material at the disposal of some scholar who can.

latter part of the manuscript volume is copied an incoherent poem, but a generous tribute to Thomson by his Welsh friend from whom, apparently, time and circumstances had separated him. Wilmott says that "about 1729" Dyer took up his abode at Mapleton in Herefordshire, where his mother owned property, and "became a practical agriculturist."¹ According to the Preface to Dodsley's edition of his poems, he had found "that he could not relish a town life, nor submit to the assiduity required in his profession . . . so he contentedly sat down in the country with his little fortune, painting now and then a portrait or a landscape as his fancy led him."² Was it under such circumstances that he mourned the lack of that "Social Soul" and "tuneful converse" which the friendly circle about Aaron Hill enjoyed? He wrote as follows:

VERSES BY MR DYER

O Thomson we have long in absence lain
 And long in silence, have we ever met
 As Friend with Friend? has ever Morn or Eve
 Seen us at Field in Amicable parle?
 Ay happy Hours! Happy so ere they seem'd
 Ay but alas! why meet we not again
 To Sweeten Life to raise the Social Soul
 With tuneful converse? Say is there excuse
 And are we pure of blame? Necessity,
 It is Necessity forbids hard Fate!
 Necessity asunders friend from friend
 In their most Strict Embrace: Acquaints the Soul
 White habitant of Earth, that matters frail
 Invests her, so innumerable Ills
 Hunger and Thirst and heat and cold and Waste
 Obnoxious, and Disease, and Pain and Death.
 Hence flow our cares, the needfull to provide
 Against the day of Tempest and distress
 The feeble Bark, nor is it always ours
 To Make the Port, tho the much valued friend
 Waits on the Strand with wide extended arms.
 So Lycidas, perhaps I never may
 View thee again till of this transient state
 Decent the gentle tryal we have past

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xii.

² *Poems by John Dyer* (1761), quoted by Wilmott, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

In patience meekness and unbounded love
 To Man our Brother; then my lov'd compeer
 Our Earthly shall unfold and loose the Soul
 To the long wish'd review together then
 (The song of praise sweet hymning to our God)
 Together we will wing the azure way
 Harmonious with the Starrs thro Heaven's high road
 Sublim'd with higher faculties: O Mate
 Wilt it not then be Joy be bliss to meet
 With the Renown'd of *Athens* and of *Rome*
 With *Socrates* and *Tully* to discourse?
 With *Homer* and the Muntuan and him
 The height of *Albion Milton* to attune
 The sacred song or humbly to devote
 Silent Thanksgiving in sublimest thought
 With Purest *Newton* to the God of Grace
 O the extatic hour! even opening now
 Her Golden Scenes: and shall I grieve at pain
 The little Insect of a Sumer day
 When evening follows soon to wipe the brow
 And slake the lip with the full bowl of Joy.¹

The separation of the friends cannot have been of very long standing, for Dyer's tribute to Thomson may be hypothetically dated 1728 on the basis of an allusion in Lady Hertford's own writings. Twice she quotes from the final lines of this poem. In her "Verses written at the Hermitage Aprill the 24 1733" she changes slightly Dyer's description of pain as "The little Insect of a summer's day," and, applying the figure to personal beauty, writes, "The Glittering insect of a Summers day."² But earlier, at the close of her religious meditations in prose and verse, in a series headed "Meditations and Prayers for the Time of Sickness written in the year 1728," she quotes with a marginal note:

Shall I then grieve at pain,—

MR. DYER The little insect of a Summer's day,
 When Evening follows soon, to wipe the Brow,
 And slake the lip, with the full Bowl of joy:³

Soon after, Dyer was the subject of enthusiastic comment on the part of one of Lady Hertford's correspondents, Grace Cole, who wrote on

¹ Alnwick MS No. 116, pp. 114-15. This poem is not copied in Lady Hertford's hand.

² *Ibid.*, No. 115, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

October 11 [1729?] from London, "I long to be acquainted with Mr Dyer, he has renew'd a verse that I have somewhere met with

Fled from the Pulpit, from the Court from Love
Abandon'd Truth seeks Shelter in the Grove
Cherish ye Muses the forsaken fair
And take into your train the Wanderer

Perhaps this may be his."¹ This letter might suggest that Lady Hertford had some personal acquaintance with the poet which her friend could hope to share.²

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¹ *Ibid.*, *Percy Family Letters and Papers* (Alnwick MS), XXII, 157.

² Lady Hertford's intercession for Richard Savage in November, 1727, may have been in part due to the influence of his companions Thomson and Dyer.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF MME DU BOCCAGE

THE *salon* of Mme du Bocage¹ was one of the favorite rendez-vous of foreigners in Paris in the last half of the eighteenth century. Dr. Johnson and Chesterfield's son were among the English received there, and the more numerous Italians included Goldoni, Algarotti, and Verri. She herself traveled in England and Italy, and was in constant correspondence with her foreign friends. A considerable number of her letters have been published in the works of Algarotti² and in the *Portraits intimes* of the Goncourts; and letters addressed to her appear in the correspondence of Voltaire and of Chesterfield as well. The following letters, from the Normand collection of M. Charles Pelliot, of Paris, and from the British Museum, find their interest not only in the literary and political news which they relate, but also in the new light which they shed on her work.

I³

TO M. DE MONCRIF

[This letter is important for two reasons: it shows a relationship between Moncrif and Mme du Bocage not previously noted; and it proves that Mme du Bocage, in her imitation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*,⁴ which was the most popular French version of this epic during the eighteenth century, was at least somewhat dependent upon the prose translation of St. Maur rather than entirely upon the original English text.]

Je sais bon gré à mon poème,⁵ monsieur, de m'avoir procuré l'honneur de faire connaissance avec vous; si vous n'étiez pas si souvent à Versailles je me flatterais du plaisir d'en profiter. J'ai travaillé à une partie des remarques critiques que vous avez eu la bonté de me faire, mais je n'ai pu essayer de satisfaire à toutes, parce qu'il y en a une

¹ See G. Gill-Mark, *Une Femme de lettres au XVIII^e siècle, Anne-Marie Du Bocage* (Paris: Champion, 1927); and a review by the editor of these letters in the *Romanic Review*, October-December, 1928.

² *Opere* (Venice, 1791-94), Vols. XVI-XVII.

³ Br. Mus., Eg. 19, fols. 78-79, undated, but must be 1747.

⁴ *Le paradis terrestre, poème imité de Milton, par Mme D.B**** (Londres, 1748), in-8°, and many subsequent editions.

⁵ *Le Paradis terrestre*.

partie que vous n'aviez pas eu le temps de m'expliquer, et le temps m'a manqué pour le reste. J'ai réparé toutes les petites marques noires excepté deux que vous avez effacées de crayon en les relisant avec moi, une au 153^e vers du 4^e chant, et l'autre au 324^e du même chant, dont je vous envoie l'endroit marqué dans la traduction de M. du Pré de St. Maur à la 321^e page; enfin de vous ôter tout scrupule, je vous en ai marqué un autre dans le même livre à la 122^e page, quoique je l'aie changé à la fin de mon 3^e chant. J'ai satisfait à tout, excepté à un point, sur lequel je vous demande grâce; j'ai prié M. le chevalier de Brassac de l'obtenir. C'est au 132^e vers du 4^e chant:

Sans les baisers d'Adam, Eve ne conçoit rien.

Quand de pareils époux reviendront-ils aux mondes?

Si c'est une dissonance il me semble qu'elle est bien sauvée. Si vous ne le trouvez pas ainsi, j'ai mis un autre mot sur "baisers." Vous n'avez qu'à le rayer, mais vous me ferez un grand chagrin. Je vous supplie, monsieur, d'examiner dans la page suivante, vers 146^e, 12 vers que j'ai ajoutés que je crois nécessaires au sujet,¹ et de m'en dire votre sentiment, si je suis assez heureuse pour que vous vouliez bien prendre un intérêt à un ouvrage que vous avez eu la bonté d'examiner, et que je voudrais rendre digne de votre suffrage, qui me flatterait beaucoup, et me serait très utile dans le monde.

J'accepte, monsieur, la proposition que vous m'avez faite d'écrire à M. Maboul de vous renvoyer une traduction du *Paradis Perdu*, s'il en passe une de son bureau, parce que j'ai appris que M. de Chimène² veut la dédier à l'Académie; ainsi il voudra qu'elle soit approuvée. Mille pardons, monsieur, de vous étourdir si longtemps de mes affaires. J'ai l'honneur d'être votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

DUBOCCAGE.

¹ This probably refers to the mention of several astronomical theories added to Raphael's speech (*Paradise Lost*, VIII, 66-178), but the numbers of the lines given in this letter do not agree with those of the printed texts, which likewise vary from edition to edition. Mme du Bocage was always anxious to discuss scientific notions in her verses. The two lines quoted remain unchanged except that *mondes* is made singular.

² Probably the Marquis de Ximenes (see G. Gill-Mark, *op. cit.*, p. 130). A "Marquis de Chimène" was planning to translate Milton and Mme du Bocage was worried lest his version should be published before hers; his translation never appeared.

II¹

TO ALGAROTTI

A PARIS, le 4^e de mars. [1757]ILL^{ma} S^{re},

Le ho mandato per via de Mme de Rocheouart il giornale straniero² che m'ha chiesta; se ella ne è contenta, la priego da parte de' giornalisti di metterlo in credito in Italia. Ho ricevuto da Prault, il "Congresso di Citera" che non ho potuto abbandonare senza leggerlo da capo al fine. Non creda però che la materia m'abbia cattivata: l'arte di trattarla fa solo il merito d'un soggetto si speso dibattito e reiterato. In vano la maestra mano dell'intagliatore s'esforzata di far l'impossibile per esprimer nelle stampe del "Congresso" tutt'i fiori, gli amori, le gratie che la abbelliscono et vivificano la piccola "Arte d'amare" di Leonzio. La finessa del di lei stile è un pennello multo più espressivo. Questo è altresì il parere de' miei amici, a quali l'ho dato a leggere. Sarò bene tosto in istato di parlarne più ampiamente seco lei. Se la nostra sanità ci permetterà, partirò per l'Italia col mio marito fra un mese. Fermerò qualche tempo in Torino, in Milano, in Venezia, e me renderò a Roma per San Pietro, ove spero ritrovarla, oppure in Venezia, e domandarle il suo sentimento sul mio poema³ ch'ella senza dubbio ha presentemente ricevuto. Avrei mila cose a dirla supra questo capitolo, sul suo "Congresso" e sul mio viaggio; ma ho troppa pena a comunicar i miei sensi in italiano, e pure vorrei impararla pel momento in cui avrò il piacere di vederla e d'assicurarla di nuovo che ho l'onore d'essere più que nessuno, Ill'mo S., huml'me e devo'me serva

DUBOCCAGE.

Ho fatto i suoi complimenti a l'ambasciadore di Venezia che li a ricevuti con gran sodisfazione; glieli rende al centuplico. Avrò l'onore di scriverle quando sarò in Torino

¹ From the collection of M. Ch. Pelliot, in Paris, as are Nos. III, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X. This letter is in answer to one of Algarotti (*op. cit.*, XVI, 411-412), dated October 15, 1756, accompanying a copy of his *Congresso di Citera*.

² *Le Journal étranger*; see the following letters.

³ Probably *La Colombiade, ou la Foi portée au Nouveau Monde* (Paris, 1756).

III

TO ALGAROTTI

A ROME, ce 10^e Sep^{bre}, 1757.

Vous ne pouvez que m'occuper agréablement, monsieur, quand vous me demanderez quelque chose que je pourrai faire pour vous; je vous avais, je crois, mandé qu'on avait mis à l'adresse de M. de Rocheouart à Parme le "Congrès de Cythère," et la traduction de "l'Essai sur la Musique" que vous m'aviez demandés. Au lieu de l'essai sur l'opéra, on a mis celui de la peinture. J'ai mandé de rectifier la méprise, et de vous envoyer par l'ambassadeur de Venise ce que vous me demandez par votre dernière lettre; si ma commission n'est pas bien exécutée, à mon passage à Bologne, vous me direz ce qui vous manque, et quand je serai à Paris, je vous le ferai tenir. Le "Journal étranger" a changé de mains,¹ ce qui me fait craindre que vous ne soyez pas aussi content de l'extrait du "Congresso" que je l'aurais désiré. Je ne connais point les nouveaux journalistes. Je pars toujours la semaine prochaine pour Naples, et en reviendrai au commencement du mois prochain, après quoi je verrai s'il me sera possible de m'arracher à la vie agréable qu'on a la bonté de me faire mener ici, pour retourner dans ma patrie. Je vous ferai souvenir en passant de la promesse que vous m'avez faite d'y venir passer un temps, et serai bien flattée, monsieur, si je puis vous y être utile à quelque chose. On redit encore que Mau-pertuis vient. ...

Je suis encore obligée de me dédire, monsieur. Ma fluxion a duré plus que je ne le pensais. Je ne puis partir que lundi, 24. Il me faut au moins 8 jours pour me rendre à Bologne. Le plaisir de vous y voir me dédommagera, monsieur, d'une route aussi longue et aussi difficile.

M. Dubocage vous présente son respect.

J'oublie, monsieur, de vous dire qu'on dit effectivement que le "Dictionnaire encyclopédique" sera continué en Hollande, et que d'Alembert pourrait bien être président de l'Académie de Berlin à la paix tant désirée, qui nous viendra peut-être par Mlle Asselin, danseuse française de notre opéra par congé à présent à Londres, et maîtresse déclarée du roi d'Angleterre, à ce qu'on assure.²

¹ Deleyre assumed the direction of the *Journal étranger* toward the last of 1756, replacing Fréron. Mme du Bocage acted as Algarotti's agent in placing many articles in this and in the *Mercur*.

² The last paragraph is on a separate sheet, but is probably of the same date.

IV

TO ALGAROTTI

A NAPLES, ce 10 octobre, 1757.

Malgré toutes les marques d'attention que vous voulez bien me donner, monsieur, j'ai des reproches à vous faire, de ce que vous me parlez toujours de moi dans vos lettres et jamais de vous. Je ne sais ni comment va la santé de votre corps et de votre âme, ni quels sont vos idées, vos réflexions et vos amusements; pour m'en venger, je ne vous dirai rien de toutes les bontés qu'on a pour moi à Naples, où vos lettres ont eu celle de me venir trouver. Je me bornerai à vous prier de rendre ma lettre de remerciement au Secrétaire de l'Académie, qui m'a fait l'honneur, sur votre parole, de me trouver digne de me donner des patentes. Je les recevrai avec grande reconnaissance à mon passage à Bologne. Je ne sais plus précisément dans quel temps il se fera. L'hiver vient; on me fera peur des Alpes. Quand je serai de retour à Rome, je verrai quel partie je prendrai. Il me sera difficile de passer tout droit. J'ai encore Tivoli et Frascati à voir. J'ai promis à M. de Canillac¹ d'aller loger chez lui en revenant. Comment le quitter brusquement ensuite? Vous comprenez qu'il me sera difficile de passer à Bologne à la fin d'octobre comme je l'avais résolu, et je serai peut-être obligée d'attendre le mois de janvier. Je vous instruirai mieux de ma marche, et me ferai un plaisir d'entretenir votre correspondance, pourvu que vous me parliez de vous et de vos projets, comme je prends la liberté de vous étourdir des miens.

V

TO MONSEIGNEUR ONORATI, GOVERNOR OF LORETTE

A AVIGNON, ce 9^e juin, 1758.

MONSEIGNEUR

Quoique j'aie différé à vous remercier de toutes vos politesses, elles n'en sont pas moins présentes à ma mémoire; mais l'envie que j'avais de retourner à Rome pour le conclave me faisait espérer avoir encore le plaisir de vous voir et de vous rendre grâce en personne; M. Duboccage m'a privée de cet honneur, en me refusant de me ramener aux bords heureux du Tibre; il en a été bien puni, la goutte l'a pris à Avignon chez M. le vice légat où nous sommes depuis 3 semaines.

¹ "Auditeur de Rote," formerly of Rouen, as was Mme du Boccase.

Je compte incessamment continuer ma route pour Paris, où j'espère que vous voudrez bien me donner de vos nouvelles; elles me seront très précieuses par la connaissance que j'ai de votre mérite, et la vive reconnaissance avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monseigneur, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

DUBOCCAGE.

M. Duboccage vous présente son respect. Je vous supplie, Monseigneur, de faire mille compliments pour moi à M. le pénitencier français à qui j'ai mille obligations du bon thé qu'il m'a donné et de toutes ses attentions.

VI

[This letter has no address, but is probably to the abbé Paulo Frisi, as are those from the British Museum, numbered XI-XV.]

PARIS, ce 28^e août, 1758.

MON TRÈS AIMABLE PÈRE,

Je n'ai point eu plutôt l'honneur de vous écrire, parce que j'ai compté que Mong'r de Canillac aurait soin de vous faire mes compliments, et de vous faire part des chagrins que j'ai eus de n'avoir point passé le temps du conclave à Rome; mais je crains que les occupations ne l'aient empêché de vous parler de mes regrets de n'être plus où vous êtes et avec vous. Il me reste le plaisir d'en parler souvent avec notre ami Clairaut, que s'est échauffé le sang à courir après la lune. Sa santé est aussi inégale que le cours de cet astre. Je lui prêche d'abandonner le ciel pour la terre; il me répond que tout va trop mal dans ce bas monde. Il est vrai que Louisbourg est pris, que le Rhin est passé à notre barbe, sans que nous en ayons tiré d'avantage, que l'argent est rare, que les Anglais nous insultent, sans que nous ayons un vaisseau à leur opposer, et que le public n'y voit d'autre ressource que d'envoyer le prétendant en Ecosse sur la flotte combinée des Suédois et des Russes qui croise dans la Baltique. C'est un conte du peuple qui me rit dans notre misère. Vous voyez que vous autres astronomes, vous avez raison de ne vous point occuper des affaires du monde qui vont souvent mal. Celles du ciel sont mieux réglées. Cependant, notre ami est fort embarrassé à savoir le temps où reviendra sa comète, comme elle a eu divers périodes. Il ne sait lequel prendre. En attendant, pour récompense de ses travaux et de son mérite, il vient de par-

tager avec M. Lemonnier, la place d'inspecteur des portes que M. Bouguer avait; j'aurais voulu qu'il l'eût seul. Elle est de 1000 écus; c'est encore beaucoup d'en avoir eu la moitié; son compéditeur avait de puissantes protections et plus d'intrigue que lui; c'est là ce qui vient de faire M. de Contades maréchal de France,¹ pour que M. de Soubise ne soit point commandé par un lieutenant général; la faveur vient aussi de faire des ducs; elle fait tout, mais elle ne peut nous faire de matelots ni de bons généraux. Adieu, mon très aimable père. Si vous voyez quelqu'un qui ait la bonté de se souvenir de moi, je vous prie de lui faire mille très humbles compliments, surtout au père Le Sueur; et vous pouvez bien assurer qu'un des grands chagrins que j'aie eus en ma vie, est de n'être point retournée à Rome passer l'été, et d'être priver du plaisir tant de personnes qui m'ont accablée d'amitiés et de marques de bonté. Je me souviens toujours des jours agréables et tranquils que j'ai passés avec vous à Castel. Mandez-moi, je vous prie, des nouvelles de votre santé, de vos occupations, et de l'état de votre âme. Je ferai part de votre lettre à notre ami, et nous jouirons de vous autant que l'absence le permet. Vous pouvez être sûr, mon aimable père, de l'intérêt que je prends à tout ce qui vous touche, et de la respectueuse considération avec laquelle je suis, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

DUBOCCAGE.

M. Duboccage vous assure de son respectueux attachement. Si vous croyez que le cardinal Portocarrera² se souviennne encore de moi, je vous prie de l'assurer de mon respect très humble.

VII³

TO THE CARDINAL LUIGI GUALTERIO

MONSEIGNEUR,

Votre Excellence m'a permis de l'importuner encore d'une nouvelle éptre; si la fin n'est pas dans les termes usités, elle est la maitresse de la faire copier, d'y ajouter les expressions convenables, et d'en effacer la signature; si le tout n'est pas bien, Votre Excellence me la donnera à

¹ Named "maréchal de France" on August 24, 1758.

² Spanish minister in Rome (see Mme du Bocage, *Lettres sur l'Angleterre, la Hollande et l'Italie* [Lyon, 1770], p. 302).

³ Br. Mus. MSS Fr. 20,672, fol. 333. Without date or address, but catalogued with the correspondence of Luigi Gualterio as of the years 1758-59. It is impossible to hazard a conjecture about the *éptre* referred to.

refaire, et aura la bonté d'écrire demain en ma faveur sans l'envoyer; si la réponse vient pendant le voyage de Fontainebleau, j'espère que Votre Excellence voudra bien me le faire savoir, et qu'on acceptera une offrande qu'elle aura daigné présenter pour moi. Je suis avec le respect que je dois à Votre Excellence, Monseigneur, sa très humble et très obéissante servante,

DUBOCCAGE.

VIII¹

TO GROSLEY

A PARIS, ce 27^e janvier, 1763

Un homme de mérite, dont par malheur je n'ai su le nom que quand il a été loin de moi, m'a apporté vos dons, monsieur. Je n'avais pas besoin d'un calendrier pour me souvenir (en y cherchant les jours du mois) que vous les employés tous au bien public. Je demandais hier à notre ami Burigny, si votre patrie ne songeait pas à vous ériger une statue. Quel fut mon étonnement! Il m'assura qu'au contraire, votre hôtel de ville vous avait fait des difficultés sur les bustes de vos grands hommes dont vous l'avez orné. Nul n'est profète en son pays; les vieux proverbes sont bien vrais! Je vous en envoie encore une preuve. Vous savez que la czarine avait fait demander d'Alembert (qu'on ne prendrait pas pour l'éducation des enfants de France) pour élever son fils. L'instabilité de la place la lui avait fait refuser. Voici la lettre remarquable² que l'impératrice lui écrit sur son refus. Les vers que vous trouverez au bas, s'y trouvent par hasard, et sont faits pour Mme de Maillé déguisée en hiver au bal du roi dans un ballet des 4 saisons. Ces détails, dits plaisirs du carnaval, vous touchent peu, ainsi que moi, mais vous ne serez pas fâché de savoir que le discours de réception à l'Académie Française samedi de l'abbé de Voisenon fut très applaudi, que M. Watelet récita sa traduction du 3^e chant du Tasse avec beaucoup de succès, et que même le remerciement au ré-

¹ Without address, but undoubtedly to Grosley. His *Ephémérides troyennes* (Troyes, 1757-68; 12 vols., in-24) brought him many enemies in his native town who denounced the work to the Garde des Sceaux. At Troyes he erected busts of five of his compatriots. His *Nouveaux Mémoires, ou observations de deux gentilhommes suédois sur l'Italie et sur les Italiens* appeared in 1764 (3 vols., in-12).

² Mme du Bocage sent this letter to Algarotti also. See Algarotti, *op. cit.*, XVII (February 30, 1763), 120-21, where it is quoted.

cipiandaire du duc de St. Agnan fut bien reçu. La comédie de Colet¹ au Français est fort suivie. Le nouveau "Polixène" de Dauvergne² à l'Opéra ne l'est guère. La Comédie italienne est toujours en vogue. Goldoni,³ ici depuis 3 mois, n'a encore rien donné. Nos brochures vont leur train, sans rien de remarquable. On doit m'envoyer aujourd'hui la traduction de l'anglais d'un voyage en France, en Italie, en Grèce. Quand nous donnerez-vous le vôtre? Le mien s'imprime lentement à Lyon.⁴ Les épreuves ne me viennent que tous les 15 jours. Je ne presse point, parce que c'est l'affaire des libraires, qui ont entrepris un recueil de mes œuvres. Mes descriptions ébauchées seront finies par vos crayons, et je les lirai avec le même empressement que j'ai eu pour vos "Ephémérides," dont je vous remercie très humblement, et suis avec la considération la plus distinguée pour votre mérite, monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

DUBOCCAGE.

M. Duboccage et mon cousin, Montaudoin de Nantes (amateur de lettres qui me parle souvent de vous, monsieur) vous assurent de leur respect. Pardonnez mon griffonnage; j'écris sur mon écran, les doigts me gèlent, et je suis toujours malade.

IX

To ***

A PARIS, ce 12^e février, 1763.

Je suis fort tentée d'aller danser avec vous, monsieur, et regrette toujours qu'il n'y ait point de bals de vieilles où je puisse exercer mes jambes l'hiver; c'est le seul remède que je crois salutaire. Les voyages, les promenades, la danse et l'eau sont la vraie médecine; mes médecins ne me le disent pas, mais je le sais, et si j'étais comme Mme Fontaine-Martel qui aimait mieux un ridicule qu'un rhume, j'irais dès ce soir au bal. Que vous êtes heureux de danser! N'en parlons plus, mes regrets s'en augmentent sans fruit. J'aime mieux vous dire que je vous don-

¹ Probably *Dupuis et Des Ronais*, first acted on January 17, 1763.

² *Polixène tragédie lyrique en cinq actes*, words by Joliveau, music by Dauvergne, first sung at the Opéra on January 11, 1763.

³ Goldoni came several times to her salon and got the theme of his *La Dalmatina* from her tragedy, *Les Amazones*.

⁴ *Recueil des œuvres de Mme Du Boccage* (Lyon, 1764), Vol. III.

nerai volontiers 8 jours le voyageur en 4 v.¹ dont je vous ai parlé. Je ne vous offre pas de le garder davantage, parce que je l'ai d'emprunt; mais j'ai demandé la permission de vous le prêter. Ainsi, quand votre ami viendra me le demander, je le lui donnerai, afin que vous n'ayez point le douleur d'acheter un bavard, qui ne vous dira que longuement ce que vous savez mieux que lui. J'ai l'honneur d'être, monsieur, avec toute la considération due à votre mérite, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

LEPAGE DUBOCCAGE.

La paix fut signée avant hier.

X

To ***

A PARIS, ce 4^e janvier, 1766.

Oui, monsieur, votre main, votre cœur, et votre mérite me sont fort connus; c'est ce qui fait que je continue à vous fort regretter; et les personnes de la dominicale que vous me nommez, vous regrettent aussi, et seront fort flattés de votre souvenir; mais vous me paraissez si bien où vous êtes, que vous nous oublierez aisément. Je rassurerai votre hôte, M. de la Faie, sur son inquiétude que vous ne vous ennuiez hors de Paris. Nous l'avons prié pour saigner du pied mon mari² dont la goutte semblait vouloir monter dans la tête, de façon à lui donner de la peine à parler et à rassembler ses idées; jugez combien j'en ai été inquiète. On l'a bien purgé et mis à la diète; il est bien mieux, pas encore aussi bien que je désire, mais sa mémoire est totalement revenue. Vous ne me dites rien de vos vapeurs; ainsi je suppose que l'air natal y fait du bien; les miennes, ou plutôt mes palpitations, me font toujours passer de mauvaises nuits; la vieillesse, par tout ce qui l'environne, me paraît encore plus laide qu'on ne me l'avait dit. Rousseau, qui n'est pas jeune non plus, a des maux dans la vessie qui l'obligent, dit-il, de s'habiller en arménien, de façon qu'il est depuis 15 jours sous cet habit dans la franchise du temple, où chacun va le voir, comme l'ours, sans le connaître. On avait fait le mauvais conte que le

¹ This "en 4 v" is inserted between the lines, and I am not certain of the reading.

² Joseph Fiquet du Bocage died the following year. He was a translator also (*Lettre sur le théâtre anglais, avec une traduction de l'Avare*, comédie de M. Shadwell, et de la *Femme de campagne*, comédie de M. Wicherley [1752], 2 vols., in-8°).

P. de Conti lui devait envoyer toute sa musique pour lui donner un concert, dont il distribuerait les billets à 6 tt; il aurait sûrement fait une grosse somme, tout Paris y serait venu. Ce projet n'a point eu d'exécution, et la permission qu'il a du ministre pour passer ici étant expirée, on lui refuse de la prolonger. Ainsi, il part dans 2 jours avec M. Hume, qui lui a fait (sans doute pour plaire à Mme de Boufflers) retenir un logement à 2 lieues au plus de Londres. Je ne sais s'il y réussira comme ici. J'entendais l'autre jour un Anglais, qui demandait où il affichait cette année, qu'il donnerait bien un écu pour le voir. Cette manière de s'exprimer n'annonce pas une grande considération; mais il ne veut que faire du bruit, et son succès en ce genre doit passer ses espérances. Nous avons un nouveau petit poème joli de M. Dorat, intitulé "Les Tourterelles," orné d'estampes recherchées. Le livre du président de Brosse¹ est estimé comme il doit l'être. Un abbé Richard,² aussi de Dijon, vient de donner un voyage d'Italie en 6 gros volumes, où tout est détaillé dans quelque genre que ce soit, et peut être utile à guider les voyageurs. Je n'ai encore entendu parler d'aucune oraison funèbre du Dauphin. Le public en a fait une flatteuse. La Dauphine, qui s'est assigné un jour une place dans son même caveau à Lens, possède en attendant le même appartement de Mme de Pompadour à Versailles. Le Roi a passé le jour de l'an à Choisy avec ses plus intimes; ainsi point de compliments. Il se livre à sa juste douleur. Si nous apprenons quelque événement propre à vous intéresser, M. Duboccage, quand il fera moins froid, s'empressera de vous le mander. Sa maigreur et sa faible santé le rendent paresseux. Je le soutiens sans cesse contre ce vice, qui nous subjugueraient tous si l'on ne combattait sans cesse. Il ne vous a pas trop asservi, il me semble, monsieur; pour moi, souvent il m'arrache au désir que j'aurais d'employer tous mes moments. L'envie de vous répondre, et de vous renouveler mes tendres sentiments, m'a fait triompher aujourd'hui sur le champ; ce mot puissant sur mon âme, m'a mis la plume à la main à la réception de votre lettre, et rien ne me l'a fait quitter que manque de papier.

¹ *Traité de la formation mécanique des langues* (Paris, 1765), 2 vols., in-12.

² L'abbé Jérôme Richard, chanoine de Vézelay, *Description historique et critique de l'Italie* (Dion, 1766), 6 vols., in-12.

XI¹TO THE ABBÉ PAULO FRISI²A PARIS, ce 29^e juin, 1767.

Jugez, mon révérend père, du plaisir que m'a fait la visite de M. du Clos;³ revoir un homme de mérite qui revient d'un pays que je chéris, qui me donne de vos nouvelles, et m'assure par les preuves les plus flatteuses, que vous voulez bien m'avoir dans votre souvenir, est un moment très agréable. Il m'a dit que vous étiez dans la même estime en Italie que vous êtes ici, ce qui m'a paru conforme à la bonne idée que j'ai de vos compatriotes. L'essai de la traduction de M. l'abbé Soresi⁴ m'en est encore une nouvelle preuve; je vous supplie de le remercier pour moi des grâces qu'il me prête, et de la peine qu'il veut bien prendre pour réunir les divers ouvrages des personnes qui ont daigné s'occuper des miens. J'espère que M. le comte Verri,⁵ que j'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir ici, voudra bien remercier M. son frère⁶ de ce premier chant dont vous êtes si content. Ce projet flatteur de faire valoir mes travaux en Italie est entre vos mains; ainsi je suis sûre du succès. En revanche de vos bons soins, je voudrais vous amuser de quelques nouvelles littéraires, mais depuis un temps, la déroute des jésuites a rempli les conversations de façon qu'on a moins parlé du livre de la sociabilité de l'abbé Pluquet,⁷ fort estimable par sa bonne morale. Il paraît un voyage en Sibérie traduit du russe, qui n'a du mérite que la nouveauté des objets assez sdégoutants; on attend la relation de notre abbé Chappe⁸ qu'on imprime au Louvre, dont on espère des faits plus satisfaisants; mais que dire de peuples encore aussi peu ingénieux que les plus brutes sauvages du nouveau monde? Il est étonnant qu'un pays habité depuis tant d'années, ait fait aussi peu de

¹ Nos. XI-XVI are from the British Museum, Eg. 19, fols. 28-77. They are catalogued with the correspondence of Frioli, but are addressed to Frisi.

² Paulo Frisi (1728-84), mathematician and physicist. He wrote the Introduction to the Italian translation of Mme du Bocage's *Colombiade* (Milan, 1771), and according to these letters was the director of the enterprise.

³ Probably Ch. Pinot, sieur Duclos, member of the Academy, etc. His *Voyage en Italie* appeared in 1791.

⁴ Soresi translated the second canto of the *Colombiade*.

⁵ Alessandro Verri (1741-1816), political economist. He was in Paris in 1766.

⁶ Pietro Verri (1728-97), who translated (anon.) the first canto of the *Colombiade*.

⁷ Abbé F.-A.-A. Pluquet, professor of history and moral philosophy at the Collège de France, *Traité de la Sociabilité* (Paris, 1767), 2 vols.

⁸ Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, *Voyage en Sibérie* (1768), 3 vols.

progrès dans la raison et les arts, tandis que les Chinois voisins ont acquis tant d'industrie.¹ On nous a donné la traduction d'un de leurs romans, dont le mérite est de montrer leurs coutumes et leur délicatesse sur les bonnes mœurs. Vous savez que Rousseau a quitté son hôte à Londres en l'injuriant, et l'Angleterre, avec dessein de n'y plus retourner. Il n'est resté qu'un moment à Paris. Peut-être le verrez-vous en passant; on dit qu'il va à Venise. Je ne sais si l'air de la mer adriatique est bon pour son mal; le temps nous l'apprendra. Je compte, mon révérend père, que vous avez reçu une lettre que j'ai eu le plaisir de vous écrire il y a un mois, en réponse à la vôtre. Je l'envoyai à votre couvent qui voulut bien se charger de vous la faire tenir. Je prends les assurances de la haute considération et reconnaissance avec lesquelles j'ai l'honneur d'être, mon révérend père, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

LEPAGE DUBOCCAGE.

XII

TO THE ABBÉ PAULO FRISI

A PARIS, ce 20^e août, 1769.

MON TRÈS RÉVÉREND PÈRE,

Je profite de la bonne volonté du père Boscovich² de vous faire passer cette lettre, pour vous dire que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire par M. l'abbé de Condillac, qui s'est rendu à Parme pour le mariage de l'infante, sa très digne élève. Je le priai de mettre ma lettre à la poste pour Milan, et de vous faire remettre par des mains sûres les 5 chants de la "Colombiade" traduits en vers italiens, que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer. Je vous prie de me mander si vous les avez reçus, et si je puis espérer que mes ingénieux traducteurs daignent achever cet ouvrage; le père Boscovich m'a promis de les y exciter; mais comme je ne dois qu'à vous l'idée flatteuse pour moi qui les a portés à y travailler, en vous seul je mets ma confiance pour les encourager à finir.³ Je me plairai toujours à vous avoir obligation, et à me dire une

¹ Mme du Bocage wrote shortly after this time several imitations of Chinese poems, the sources for which were the prose versions in the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois par les missionnaires de Pékin* (publiés par Batteux et de Bréquigny, 1776-89), 16 vols.

² Roger Boscovich (1711-87), Jesuit mathematician and astronomer.

³ The poet Frugoni had promised Mme du Bocage at the time of her visit to Italy to translate this poem, but had constantly put it off.

des personnes les plus attachées à votre mérite. Dans ces sentiments, j'ai l'honneur d'être, mon révérend père, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

LEPAGE DUBOCCAGE.

Mm. de Mairan, de Burigny et de Lalande m'ont demandé de vous assurer de leurs civilités.

XIII

TO THE ABBÉ PAULO FRISI

A PARIS, ce 18^e s'bre, 1769.

Ce n'est point ma lettre, mon révérend père, qui a excité et encouragé mes doctes traducteurs à finir la "Colombiade," mais votre bienveillance pour moi, dont je me glorifie fort. J'en attends la meilleure conclusion de l'ouvrage; comptez, je vous en supplie, sur mon éternelle reconnaissance. Je vous ai encore une obligation. Je vous dois sans doute la manière obligeante dont votre générale très digne m'a offert ses services à Rome; quand vous lui écrirez, je vous prie de l'en remercier pour moi. La lettre qu'il a fait l'honneur de m'écrire, est en réponse à un petit billet de compliment que je lui avais envoyé ici sur son élévation, et qui lui est parvenu sur le Tibre, où il règne sur son ordre. Le père Boscovich est parti hier pour Bruxelles avec votre lettre que je lui ai donnée. Vous trouverez ci-joint les noms des juges académiciens que vous me demandez. J'ai fait vos compliments à nos illustres, qu'on vous rend au centuple, et moi, j'ai l'honneur d'être à jamais, avec tous les sentiments d'admiration et de reconnaissance que votre mérite et vos bontés m'inspirent, mon révérend père, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

LEPAGE DUBOCCAGE.

XIV

TO THE ABBÉ PAULO FRISI

A PARIS, ce 10^e s'bre, 1771.

Ma reconnaissance, mon révérend père, ne peut jamais égaler les soins que vous avez bien voulu prendre pour moi, mais je ne perds point de vue le soin de vous la marquer. Périsset, libraire qui vient de publier

une nouvelle édition de mes œuvres à Lyon, augmentée d'une imitation du poème d'Abel,¹ m'a mandé qu'il vous en avait envoyé, par l'abbé Millot de Parme (suivant mes ordres) il y a plus d'un mois, un exemplaire, qui vous sera parvenu, à ce que j'espère; et vous trouverez ci-joint le jugement que le "Journal des Savants" a porté de la bonne préface que vous avez eu la bonté de mettre à la tête de la "Colombiade" italienne, et des traducteurs élégants qui ont bien voulu me faire valoir dans leur riche langue. Je voudrais bien aussi que vous fussiez content de la traduction de vos "Canaux navigables,"² mais je ne trouve encore personne qui me convienne pour l'entreprendre. Je crois que je m'en chargerai moi-même; une seule chose m'embarasse; c'est de rendre en français les noms de lieux dont vous parlez. Je crois que je pouvais les laisser en italien, ou avoir un dictionnaire géographique italien qui rendit le nom de chaque ville, rivière, et village en français; je verrai si j'en pourrai trouver à Paris. Si vous aviez voulu m'indiquer par où je pourrais vous faire tenir le louis perdu dans mes lettres perdues, je vous l'aurais remplacé, mais je vois qu'il ne faut point mettre d'argent dans les lettres. Je l'avais mis en 2 demi louis, afin que le peu d'épaisseur empêchât de s'en apercevoir; mais les porteurs ont le tact fin. Ce qui m'a fait le plus de peine, est la réponse de La Condamine perdue et la mauvaise idée que mon silence apparent devait vous donner de moi. Enfin, j'espère que cette lettre-ci vous parviendra, et que vous y verrez que je suis aussi sensible que je le dois aux marques de votre bienveillance, et que votre mérite éminent et vos bienfaits me rendent à jamais, mon très docte et révérend père, votre très humble et très obéissante servante

LEPAGE DUBOCCAGE.

Les Périsset, libraires de Lyon, dont je vous avais donné l'adresse, mon révérend père, m'ont mandé il y a 15 jours, qu'ils n'avaient point encore reçu les exemplaires de la "Colombiade" italienne que vous aviez mandé le 8^e juin au Marquis de Keraglio que vous deviez faire partir 3 jours après, et dont je vous remercie d'avance, dans l'espérance de les recevoir par vos soins obligeants. Je regrette toujours que la

¹ *La Mort d'Abel, poème imité de Gessner.*

² *Traité des rivières et des torrents, augmenté du Traité des canaux navigables, traduit de l'italien par Deserrey (Paris: de l'Imp. Royale, 1774), in-4.* Whether Mme du Bocage directed this translation or not cannot be definitely said. See the next letter.

correspondance entre la France et la Lombardie ne soit pas plus facile. Je quitte tout à l'heure le marquis de Condorcet, qui m'a priée très fort de vous le remettre en mémoire; celle de M. de Mairan vous sera toujours chère, et je me plais à la rappeler avec un savant tel que vous, mon révérend père.

XV

TO THE ABBÉ PAULO FRISI

A PARIS, ce 6^e janvier, 1772.¹

Ma fluxion sur les yeux m'a empêchée de répondre plutôt à votre obligeante lettre, mon révérend père, mais vous trouverez ci-joint l'extrait du "Journal des Savants" que vous me demandez. M. de Lalande, qui l'a fait, m'a dit que s'il avait eu le livre de votre part, il en aurait été très flatté, et aurait eu lieu de s'étendre plus au long sur le mérite qu'il y trouve. J'ai lu avec attention celui de M. le comte de Verri,² qui m'a fait d'autant plus de plaisir que je suis de son avis sur presque tous les objets, excepté sur le blé, dont nous avons manqué d'une manière qui me met en doute sur celle d'en régler le commerce. Ce comte est en fort bonne réputation ici, et nous serions bien charmés de l'y voir. Je crois que M. son frère m'a fait, il y a quelques années, l'honneur d'y dîner chez moi. Je voudrais me le rapeller en donnant un autre dîner à celui qui a écrit sur l'économie politique, à qui je vous prie de faire faire mes compliments. Vous, mon révérend père, qui écrivez si bien sur les hautes sciences, et qui voulez les rendre utiles en donnant des leçons sur les canaux navigables, vous avez bien fait de m'envoyer la traduction de plusieurs termes d'art que vous y employez; votre ouvrage³ est traduit en français, mais la personne que j'ai pu trouver pour y travailler n'est point du tout architecte. Il faut à présent que je trouve quelqu'un capable d'examiner cette traduction, et de voir si elle n'a pas de contresens ridicules. J'en aurai soin, et vous en rendrai compte, mais vous savez qu'il faut du temps. Il en faut bien aussi pour faire parvenir des paquets en Italie; il y a au moins 4 mois que mes libraires, Périsse, de Lyon, m'ont écrit qu'ils vous

¹ This letter (Br. Mus., Eg. 19, fols. 72-73) is dated 1771, but since it is obviously later than the preceding one, this must be a slip, common at the beginning of a new year.

² Pietro Verri. See p. 332, n. 6.

³ See p. 335, n. 2.

avaient envoyé par l'abbé Millot de Parme, un exemplaire de mes ouvrages, et je crois que vous ne l'avez point encore reçu. Ils n'ont pas reçu non plus, du moins je n'en ai pas de nouvelles, les exemplaires de la "Colombiade" en vers italiens, que vous avez eu la bonté de me mander que vous m'enverriez à Lyon à leur adresse, rue Mercière. Je voudrais que les gens de lettres de tout pays eussent des voies sûres et faciles pour se faire tenir l'un à l'autre leurs ouvrages et les mémoires dont ils auraient besoin. C'est une république où la paix et la correspondance ne règne point encore assez, et le goût qu'on a pris d'écrire sur la religion et le gouvernement a détruit tout le reste sans, par malheur, beaucoup de profit pour l'humanité. Enfin, chaque siècle a sa manie; la nôtre est triste, ce qui me fâche; je me console par la société de mes amis, et le souvenir flatteur des personnes de votre mérite. Je vous prie de croire que ma reconnaissance pour vos soins obligeants égale la haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, pour votre savoir et vos vertus, mon révérent père, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

LEPAGE DUBOCCAGE.

XVI

TO THE ABBÉ PAULO FRISI

A PARIS, ce 20^e mars, 1774.

Je vois avec peine, mon révérent père, que les lettres se perdent souvent en passant les Alpes. J'ai eu l'honneur de vous en écrire plus d'une que vous n'avez pas reçue. Je vous en ai d'autant plus d'obligation de vouloir bien ne me point oublier et de me donner de vos nouvelles. J'apprends avec satisfaction que vous êtes plus occupé que jamais et plus digne de l'être, et comme il n'y a que ce genre de vie qui la fasse passer agréablement, je vous en loue; dans l'inaction, l'esprit repose sur les plus tristes objets, le corps devient pesant et l'âme s'en ressent; vous êtes occupé à accroître vos connaissances sur les canaux navigables, c'est ce qui fait que je ne me presse point de faire imprimer la traduction que j'ai fait faire de ce que vous en avez écrit; mais je la conserve avec soin et serai toujours fort occupée de ce qui vous concerne; je l'ai beaucoup été depuis quelques temps d'un

grand procès que j'ai depuis 7 ans et du mariage de ma nièce que vous avez vue avec moi, qui a épousé cet automne le comte Stanislas Bianchetti d'Avignon, frère de celui de Bologne qui a épousé Mlle. de Monti, nièce du général Monti et du feu cardinal Caprara. Ces jeunes époux demeurent avec moi et s'aiment comme aux premiers temps du monde. Une grossesse déjà de 3 mois me paraît aller trop vite; j'aurais voulu qu'elle ne fût venue que dans 3 ans pour le repos de la jeune personne. Le mari et la providence en ordonnent autrement. Il faut s'y soumettre et vous prier de les recommander au ciel, et moi aussi, dans vos saintes prières, si vous avez le temps de prier, car vous me paraissez bien occupé. Il est vrai que de travailler est prier. Travaillez donc, mon révérent père. Eclairez les humains, leur conversion est plus leur affaire que la vôtre; la mienne est de veiller à ma santé et à ma maison. Ces soins à mon âge en demandent assez pour me laisser peu de moments pour les belles lettres, mais j'en trouverai toujours pour vous remercier de votre bon souvenir et vous marquer la reconnaissance et la considération distinguées avec lesquelles j'ai l'honneur d'être pour toujours, mon révérend père, votre très humble et très obéissante servante,

LEPAGE DUBOCCAGE.

FREDERICK KING TURGEON

AMHERST COLLEGE

UNE SOURCE ANGLAISE DE L'ABBÉ PRÉVOST

UNE question est posée:¹ dans quelle mesure l'Abbé Prévost s'est-il inspiré de la littérature anglaise, pour nourrir ses nombreux et volumineux romans? Nous apportons une pièce au dossier: heureux si nous pouvons en susciter beaucoup d'autres, qu'il est nécessaire de réunir avant de répondre définitivement.

C'est au tome V (livres dix et onze) des *Mémoires et aventures d'un Homme de Qualité*. Nous sommes en Angleterre; on nous a décrit, avec pittoresque et agrément, la vie qu'on mène aux bains de Tumbidge; un vif éloge du caractère anglais a suivi.

"Je m'aperçois que mes digressions sont longues. C'est un défaut de ma vieillesse. Je veux mériter le pardon du lecteur, par le récit d'un évènement qui ne lui causera point d'ennui. ..." Ainsi s'exprime l'Homme de Qualité, qui, fort de cette précaution et de cette annonce, se met à raconter une très romanesque histoire, celle du baron Spalding. Le baron Spalding a fait la connaissance, à Marseille, d'une jeune et belle Anglaise qui se trouve dans le plus complet dénuement. Voyageant sur un navire anglais, avec sa mère, elle a été prise par un corsaire français. La mère et la fille sont tombées en partage au capitaine, qui, prenant pitié d'elles, leur a laissé en mourant de quoi vivre honnêtement. Mais un héritier a pris le legs qui revenait aux deux femmes; elles ont été réduites à la dernière misère; la mère est morte d'affliction; la fille cherche à regagner l'Angleterre. La baron Spalding intervient ici: il commence par intenter un procès à l'héritier, et réussit à remettre Mademoiselle Perry (c'est son nom) en possession de tout ce qu'elle avait injustement perdu. Puis il la reconduit en Angleterre, en compagnie d'une dame de Marseille, Madame Doublet, qui lui sert de chaperon. Ils arrivent à Londres; où conduire la jeune fille? Celle-ci explique, "avec une franchise charmante, que sa fortune était dérangée; que son Père, qui avait été un des plus riches négociants de Bristol, s'était trouvé contraint par diverses pertes d'abandon-

¹ On trouvera la bibliographie de cette question dans les *Études critiques sur Manon Lescaut* que nous avons publiées avec la collaboration des étudiants de l'Université de Chicago (University of Chicago Press, 1929).

ner le commerce et de se retirer avec le reste de ses biens; qu'il s'était embarqué pour le Levant avec sa famille, dans l'espérance de réparer le désordre de ses affaires; mais qu'ayant été attaqué par le Marseillais, il avait péri en se défendant, de sorte que cet infortuné voyage lui avait coûté la perte de son père, de sa mère, et de toutes ses espérances; qu'il lui restait une tante à Londres, chez laquelle elle se promettait de trouver un asile; et que c'était à sa maison qu'elle allait se faire mener." Hélas! cette tante elle-même est morte; de sorte que le baron Spalding prend le parti de procurer à la jeune Anglaise appartement, mobilier, femme de chambre, domestiques; il la fait vivre dans une abondance qu'elle n'avait connue que dans les premières années de sa vie.

Madame Doublet, qui est une femme fort sage, n'approuve pas cette excessive libéralité. Où le baron Spalding en veut-il venir? Quelles sont ses vues? Elle craint qu'il n'y ait du poison de caché sous ces beaux dehors. Mademoiselle Perry défend le baron: il y a trop d'honneur et trop d'estime dans sa conduite et dans ses sentiments pour qu'on puisse le soupçonner d'une lâcheté.

Le fait est qu'ils s'aiment, avec une si rare délicatesse, que ni l'un ni l'autre n'osent se faire l'aveu de leurs sentiments. Et cette situation durerait longtemps sans doute, si un prétendant ne survenait, qui demande la main de Mademoiselle Perry: laquelle est au comble du désespoir. Enfin le baron Spalding se déclare: s'il s'est tû, c'est d'abord qu'il craignait que ses motifs ne parussent intéressés; c'était ensuite à cause de l'opposition d'un oncle, qu'il a ramené à de meilleurs sentiments. Après une lutte de générosité—Mademoiselle Perry refusant d'abord de l'épouser, par des scrupules non moins nuancés que ceux de son amant—le mariage est décidé.

Or tout s'arrange le mieux du monde. C'est la coutume de Londres d'annoncer dans les *Nouvelles publiques* le mariage des personnes qui sont au-dessus du commun: le baron Spalding ne manque pas à cet usage. Et qui lit l'annonce dans la Gazette, sinon le propre père de l'épousée? "Monsieur Perry, père de cette dame, n'était pas mort comme tout le monde l'avait cru. Il était à Londres depuis plus de dix ans, c'est à dire depuis le temps de son infortune de Marseille. Ayant été blessé et laissé pour mort par le corsaire, il avait trouvé de

la compassion dans un matelot, à l'aide d'une somme d'argent qu'il lui avait mis entre les mains; et il s'était adroitement caché par son secours, il avait évité la mort et la captivité. Il s'était fait guérir ensuite secrètement à Marseille. Sa femme et sa fille étaient pendant ce temps-là au pouvoir du corsaire, qui en usa généreusement avec elles. M. Perry se procura le moyen de voir son épouse, mais étant dépourvu de tout, il ne put rien entreprendre pour sa liberté. Comme sa situation n'était pas tout à fait malheureuse dans la maison du corsaire, il convint avec elle qu'il l'y laisserait sous la protection de la Providence, et qu'il retournerait en Angleterre pour y trouver du remède à sa misère. Sa fille était trop jeune pour être dans le secret. Il était donc revenu à Londres, car il n'avait garde de reparaître dans cet état à Bristol; il avait changé de nom; il s'était bientôt fait connaître de quelques marchands, par la grande intelligence qu'il avait du commerce, il avait trouvé si heureusement à s'employer en qualité de facteur et de commissionnaire, qu'en peu d'années il se vit dans les mains des sommes considérables. Il profita habilement de ce commencement de fortune: en un mot, il n'acquit guère moins de richesses en dix ans, qu'il n'en avait perdu par tous ses malheurs... ." Bref, il retrouve la demeure de sa fille, la reconnaît: et tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes. "Rien ne put être plus agréable pour cette vertueuse personne que de retrouver son père. M. le baron de Spalding eut presque autant de sujet qu'elle d'être satisfait de cet heureux tour de fortune. Ce n'était plus une fille malheureuse et sans biens dont il devenait le Mari: c'était une personne presque aussi riche que lui, et qui possédait tout ce qui peut rendre une Femme aimable aux yeux d'un honnête homme ... "

L'Homme de Qualité, au même Tome V de ses *Mémoires*, ne ménage pas ses compliments au théâtre anglais. Il a vu, dit-il, plusieurs pièces de théâtre qui lui ont paru ne le céder ni aux grecques ni aux françaises. A un peu d'irrégularité près, les Anglais écrivent des tragédies admirables. Ils ne réussissent pas moins dans le genre comique. "Je doute qu'on puisse trouver, en aucun pays, rien de plus agréable et de plus ingénieux que leur *Constant Couple*, leur *Provoked Husband*, le *Recruiting Officer*, le *Careless Husband*, *The Way of the World*, qui

sont des ouvrages de leurs meilleurs auteurs, à la représentation desquels j'ai goûté une satisfaction infinie." Il aurait pu citer aussi *The Conscious Lovers*: c'eût été justice. Car il doit à Steele l'histoire du baron Spalding; comme il arrive souvent en pareille matière, l'Abbé Prévost se montre ingrat.

Les ressemblances sont frappantes. Bevil junior est fiancé à Lucinde, fille d'un riche marchand appelé Sealand; le mariage doit se célébrer incessamment. Mais il est fort embarrassé, car il est trop délicat, trop réservé pour avouer à son père qu'il aime ailleurs: tout au plus fait-il cette confidence à Humphrey, ancien serviteur, et homme de confiance de Bevil senior. Écoutons le:¹

Bevil junior.—You may remember, Humphrey, that in my last Travels, my father grew uneasy at my making so long a stay at Toulon.

Humphrey.—I remember it; he was apprehensive some Woman had laid hold of you.

Bevil junior.—His Fears were just; for there I first saw this Lady: She is of English Birth: Her Father's name was Danvers, a Younger Brother of an Ancient Family, and originally an eminent merchant of Bristol; who, upon repeated Misfortunes, was reduced to go privately to the Indies. In this Retreat Providence again grew favourable to his Industry, and, in six Years time, restored him to his former fortunes. On this he sent Directions over, that his wife and little family should follow him to the Indies. His Wife, impatient to obey such Welcome Orders, would not wait the leisure of a convoy, but took the first Occasion of a single Ship, and with her Husband's Sister only, and this Daughter, then scarce seven years old, undertook the fatal voyage: for here, poor Creature, she lost her Liberty and Life: She, and her family, with all they had, were unfortunately taken by a Privateer from Toulon. Being thus made a Prisoner, though, as such, not ill treated, yet the Fright, the Shock, and cruel Disappointment, seiz'd with such Violence upon her unhealthy Frame, she sicken'd, pined and died at sea.

Humphrey.—Poor Soul! O the helpless Infant!

Bevil.—Her Sister yet survived, and had the care of her: The Captain too proved to have Humanity, and became a Father to her; for having himself married an English Woman, and being Childless, he brought home into Toulon this her little Country Woman; presenting her, with all her dead Mother's Moveables of Value, to his Wife, to be educated as his own adopted Daughter.

Humphrey.—Fortune here seemed, again, to smile on her.

Bevil.—Only to make her Frowns more terrible: For, in his Height of Fortune, this Captain, too, her Benefactor, unfortunately was kill'd at Sea,

¹ Acte I, p. 18 et suivantes, de l'édition de 1723.

and dying intestate, his Estate fell wholly to an Advocate his Brother, who coming soon to take Possession, there found (among his other Riches) this blooming Virgin, at his Mercy.

Humphrey.—He durst not, sure, abuse his Power!

Bevil.—No wonder if his pampered Blood was fired at the Sight of her—in short, he lov'd: but, when all Arts and gentle Means had fail'd to move, he offer'd too his Menaces in vain, denouncing Vengeance on her Cruelty; demanding her to account for all her Maintenance, from her Childhood, seiz'd on her little Fortune, as his own Inheritance, and was dragging her by violence to Prison, when Providence at the Instant interpos'd, and sent me by Miracle, to relieve her.

Humphrey.—'Twas Providence indeed; But pray, Sir, after all this Trouble, how came this lady at last to England?

Bevil.—The disappointed Advocate, finding she had so unexpected a support, on cooler Thoughts, descended to a composition: which I, without her knowledge, secretly discharg'd.

Humphrey.—That generous Concealment made the Obligation double.

Bevil.—Having thus obtain'd her Liberty, I prevail'd, not without some difficulty, to see her safe to England. . . .

Menacé du mariage avec une autre, le jeune Bevil n'a pas trouvé de meilleur expédient que de procurer à Indiana un appartement somptueux, des domestiques; il l'entoure de mille soins, toujours discrets et respectueux. La tante de la jeune fille, qui vit avec elle et lui sert de chaperon, craint ces libéralités: où le jeune Bevil en veut-il venir? Indiana le défend: les sentiments de Bevil sont au-dessus de tout soupçon: il est trop noble pour être capable d'artifice.

A la fin, le père de Lucinde, Sealand le marchand, las d'avoir devant lui un fiancé toujours incertain et se déroband, décide de se rendre compte de la nature de l'obstacle qui l'arrête et se rend chez Indiana. O merveille! Indiana est sa fille; il la reconnaît à un bracelet qu'elle porte; c'est le bracelet qu'il avait donné à sa femme au moment de leur séparation:¹

Indiana.—What said you, Sir? Your Wife! Whither do my Fancy carry me? What means this unfelt motion at my Heart? And yet again my fortune but deludes me; for if I err not, Sir, your name is Sealand; but my lost Father's name was. . . .

Mr. Sealand.—Danvers! was it not?

Indiana.—What new amazement! That is indeed my Family.

¹ Acte V, p. 82.

Mr. Sealand.—Know then, when my misfortunes drove me to the Indies, for Reasons too tedious now to mention, I chang'd my name of Danvers into Sealand. . . .

Certes, l'histoire en elle-même n'est pas plus neuve qu'elle n'est vraisemblable: elle remonte à Térence, source avouée de Steele; et à qui Térence l'avait-il prise? Mais les similitudes de détail permettent de voir que l'Abbé Prévost n'est pas remonté jusqu'à l'auteur latin, et a pris dans *The Conscious Lovers* l'aventure déjà toute anglicisée. Pour retrouver ses sources, il faudra parcourir non seulement le roman, mais le théâtre anglais antérieur au séjour anglais de l'Abbé Prévost.

PAUL HAZARD

COLLÈGE DE FRANCE

SOME NEW COMMENTS ON *JEAN-CHRISTOPHE*
BY ITS AUTHOR

EVER since the appearance of *Jean-Christophe*, and its prompt translation into all important European languages, Romain Rolland has been a world-figure. From his first and greatest novel to his still uncompleted *Ame enchantée*, no major work of his has failed to excite great interest among the international reading public or to become a center of heated controversy.

So far as his more purely literary works are concerned, and notably in the case of *Jean-Christophe*, Rolland himself has maintained a dignified position "above the mêlée," his only important published contribution to the great mass of critical material on *Jean-Christophe* being a brief article¹ in which he explains the reasons which led him to make his hero a German instead of a Frenchman. For this reason the comments, or marginal notes, on *Jean-Christophe* by M. Rolland himself, which have recently come into the possession of the writer of this article, should be of unusual interest and importance, written as they were long after all controversy concerning the work had died down and after it had been safely enthroned among the great classics of our day.

The origin of these notes is as follows. The writer was intrusted with the pleasant task of preparing an annotated edition of *L'Aube*, the first volume of *Jean-Christophe*, for use in American colleges.² At M. Rolland's request, the Introduction and Notes to this edition were submitted to him in advance of publication. He evidently read these proof-sheets with great care and attention, for in addition to a very gracious letter of acknowledgment, he returned them with a considerable number of marginal comments of great interest and value, containing in some instance material that is absolutely new, and in others statements at wide variance with those of his biographers.

All these marginal comments are here reproduced in full, with the exception of a few which merely correct certain inaccuracies in the writer's work as editor. And as they are not comments on the text of *Jean-Christophe* itself, but on the Introduction and Notes to this

¹ "Les origines germaniques de Jean-Christophe," *Parthénon*, November 5, 1913.

² Romain Rolland, *Jean-Christophe (L'Aube)*. Edited by Henry Ward Church. New York: Henry Holt & Co., December 1928. All references in this article are to this edition.

text, the statements which called forth M. Rolland's comments are also given in so far as this is necessary.

Obviously these marginal notes are not of equal importance. At least two of them require no comment at all. We will therefore simply record them here and then pass on to others of greater interest.

HOLT EDITION OF *L'Aube*

Elle (la souffrance) lui paraissait immense, et ne devoir jamais prendre fin [p. 14, ll. 10, 11].

Sentiment un peu prématuré!—G. LeComte, *Grande Revue*, 20 juin, 1907, pages 29-33, article on Romain Rolland. [This note appeared in the proofs submitted to M. Rolland but is not in the published book.]

ces dégoûtants cimetières [p. 81, l. 13].

European cemeteries, and particularly French, are much more ghastly and horrible than our own . . . [p. 161].

But the outstanding experience of this sojourn in Rome was the wonderful friendship which grew up between himself and Malwida von Meysenbug . . . [p. xi].

ROMAIN ROLLAND

Réponse de l'auteur:

C'est l'expérience de la vie qui nous apprend qu'il existe des limites. Le premier sentiment en est de croire que tout ce qui est en nous est sans bornes et sans fin.

Le sentiment de Christophe est très primitif. Il a le dégoût physique de ces corps enterrés. Je l'ai eu comme lui, quand j'étais enfant.

Romain Rolland a raconté sa rencontre avec Malwida von Meysenbug, à Rome, et ce que fut pour lui cette amitié: ... dans le *Romain Rolland Jahrbuch* de 1926, publié par quatre éditeurs d'Allemagne et de Suisse (Kurt Wolff de Munich, Rütten und Loewig de Francfort, George Müller de Munich, et Rotapfelverlag de Zurich).

La grande révélation que fut pour R. R. Malwida von M.,—ce fut la vieille Allemagne idéaliste, dont elle était la plus pure incarnation, la grande Allemagne qui va de Goethe à la Révolution de 1848.

Certains de ses traits moraux ont été transportés dans la figure du vieux Schultz (*La Révolte*).

Aside from the last sentence, to which reference will be made later, this marginal note contains nothing particularly new, but it is interesting as an additional tribute of the ever grateful Rolland to the woman

who more than any other single individual influenced his youthful ideals and thereby his whole career, and without whom *Jean-Christophe* would either never have been written or would have been vastly different from what it is. In this connection it should be mentioned that M. Rolland suggested the addition of Malwida von Meysenbug's *Memoiren einer Idealistin* and her *Lebensabend einer Idealistin* to the brief bibliography in the school edition of *L'Aube* (p. xxxi).

For Rolland, style as such does not exist. He is interested in ideas, not words [p. xxviii].

Ceci est vrai, surtout pour *Jean-Christophe*, pour lequel j'ai voulu un style universel, immédiatement accessible à tous. *L'Ame Enchantée* est écrite sur un tout autre mode, ainsi que les derniers drames (*Le Jeu de l'Amour*, *Pâques-Fleuries*, *Les Léonides*).

This is a very interesting comment on a much-discussed question. Rolland's style has always been a source of irritation to French critics. His enemies have used it as a text by which to condemn his whole work. His admirers, while recognizing its faults—any schoolmaster can point them out—have insisted that his very neglect of style as such is the negative manifestation of a rare quality, and one of the important sources of his power and effectiveness as a writer. This is the keynote of Seippel's chapter on Rolland as a writer,¹ which contains one of the finest defenses of his style. As a typical example of the opposite point of view we may refer to the article by M. Albert Thibaudet on the "Prix Nobel,"² in which not only M. Rolland but almost everybody connected with the award of this famous prize is treated in a very patronizing way. This writer notes that of the three Frenchmen who up to that time had received this high award, only one, Sully-Prudhomme, was highly rated by the French themselves. M. Maeterlinck is "Anglo-Saxon," M. Rolland is "Germanic." Both "sentent par quelque côté l'étranger," and belong to what M. Thibaudet calls the "littérature de liaison." He then explains that these authors are popular abroad because they "lose little by translation, in fact in one way they actually gain, because translation at least restores to their natural state of prose the pages of near-alexandrines

¹ Paul Seippel, *Romain Rolland, l'homme et l'œuvre*. Paris: Ollendorff, 1913. Now out of print. The chapter referred to is found on pp. 111-17.

² *Revue de Paris*, 1^{er} février, 1921, pp. 634-46.

[*alexandrins blancs*] for which both have a mania, and which exasperate a French ear." The specific charge of writing prose alexandrines refers more properly to works like *Colas Breugnon* than to *Jean-Christophe*, so far as M. Rolland is concerned, but the statement that he gains rather than loses by translation expresses a point of view that seems to be widely held.

Perhaps these apparently contradictory judgments are not so far apart as they may at first seem. When M. Thibaudet declares that Rolland loses little in translation, is he not in essential agreement with M. Seippel who writes "il écrit pour se faire comprendre de tous, non pour complaire à quelques raffinés"?¹ In a personal letter just received by the writer of this article, Professor Albert Guérard, a Rolland student and critic of some importance,² expresses much the same idea in this way: "Really, Rolland speaks French with too strong an *Esperanto* accent."

In the note we are discussing, M. Rolland himself says that in *Jean-Christophe* he was striving for a "universal style, immediately accessible to all." Just what a "universal" style is may be open to discussion. But it seems certain that however it is defined, it must include these elements. It must be a style which will "lose little in translation," "make itself understood by all," and have an "*Esperanto* accent." It seems then that M. Rolland and his critics are in essential agreement so far as the facts of his style are concerned. The difference of opinion centers around the question as to whether this style pleases or irritates, whether it is a creditable achievement or a serious drawback.

But this same note suggests other questions which cannot be fully answered until someone makes a serious, objective study of Rolland's style, a thing which, so far as the writer is aware, has never been attempted. Does M. Rolland mean that with *L'Ame enchantée* and the latest dramas he has deliberately ceased to be "universal," and is now endeavoring to show that he can write in a style which will meet with the approval of his compatriots? If so, how far has he succeeded? Critics do not seem to have noted any significant change of this kind, although even a casual reader of *L'Ame enchantée* notices that its style is quite different from that of *Jean-Christophe*. And Professor Gué-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

² A. L. Guérard, *Five Masters of French Romance* (New York: Scribners, 1916), also article on Romain Rolland in *World Unity Magazine*, February, 1928.

rard's charge of an 'Esperanto accent' referred specifically to *Le Jeu de l'Amour et de la Mort*, which M. Rolland says was written in the new manner.

Out of this struggle he evolved his *Credo quia verum*, a sort of individual and personal creed or philosophy of life, which, although it has never been published . . . was so carefully and thoroughly worked out that according to Rolland's own statement he has never been compelled to change it in any essential way [p. ix].

À propos of the discussion of the "heroic biographies" [pp. xix-xxi].

Je me réserve de publier plus tard mes idées philosophiques et religieuses. Mais j'estimais qu'à 20 ans, je n'avais pas une expérience de la vie suffisante pour les expliquer en système.

Dans ma pensée, Beethoven représente le héros dans la musique, Michel-Ange dans les arts plastiques, Tolstoi dans les lettres, Gandhi dans l'action. Un cinquième ouvrage, qui est achevé, et qui paraîtra cet hiver, sera dédié à la foi religieuse.

M. Rolland's religious ideas have been as widely discussed as his style. It is generally agreed that while his nature is a deeply religious one, his faith is in "life" rather than God. This is certainly the religious teaching of *Jean-Christophe*. M. Rolland has evidently not said his final word on the subject. The biography soon to appear, the hero of which is not divulged, will undoubtedly be an important contribution to this phase of M. Rolland's thought.

Le Théâtre de la Révolution comprend déjà sept pièces publiées:

- I. (Prologue) *Pâques-Fleuries*.
- II. *Le 14 Juillet*.
- III. *Les Loups*
- IV. *Le Triomphe de la Raison*.
- V. *Danton*.
- VI. *Le Jeu de l'Amour et de la Mort*.
- VII. *Les Léonides* (Epilogue).

Il doit compter, au total, douze pièces.

Although this note contains no new information, M. Rolland having already announced in the Preface to *Le Jeu de l'Amour et de la Mort* that the series was to consist ultimately of twelve plays, it is nevertheless a reminder of his well-known habit of conceiving his work

not in small units, but in great cycles. *Jean-Christophe*, the *Théâtre de la Révolution*, the *Tragédies de la Foi*, the heroic biographies, and *L'Ame enchantée* are all examples of this. Even during his earliest days in Rome he wrote a whole cycle of still unpublished dramas inspired by Shakespeare.

M. Rolland is too much of a scholar, and has too much of Jean-Christophe's heroic persistence to lay down a task until it is completed. He may put it aside for a number of years, but seems always to return to finish it. This persistence, accompanied by genius, generally brings its reward. A less persevering young writer would never have had the courage to face the indifference of the public and finish *Jean-Christophe*. M. Rolland's dramatic crusade for a "theater of the people" began, and apparently ended in complete failure, over two decades ago; but on January 29, 1928, M. Gémier, the present director of the Odéon, himself an advocate of the very type of drama for which Romain Rolland contended, produced *Le Jeu de l'Amour et de la Mort*, which was written in 1925, thus giving to M. Rolland his first and much-belated entrée into the national theaters of France.

Les Kraft: The name itself is symbolical. *Kraft* is the German word for *power*. Another suggestion of possible symbolism in the name is found in Henri Barbusse's observation that the name *Jean-Christophe* resembles the name *Jesus Christ* [cf. *Europe* (fév., 1926), p. 8].

[P. 155. The last sentence does not appear in the published book.]

Jamais je n'ai songé à Jésus-Christ!

Le nom de Jean-Christophe m'a été inspiré par les vieux maîtres allemands du XVII^e siècle. *Johann Christof Bach*. Je le voulais évocateur de la vieille Allemagne.

Et les deux noms, Jean (le Précurseur) et Christophe (le porteur de Dieu) sont des symboles éclatants!

Ne pas oublier qu'à la fin du volume de *L'Aube*, (comme de chacun des volumes de la 1^{ère} édition de *Jean-Christophe*), se trouvaient ces deux vers latins;

Christophori faciem die quacumque tueris,
Illa nempe die non morte mala morieris.

C'est à dire:

"Le jour où tu vois la face de Christophe
Ce jour-là tu ne mourras pas de male mort."

Ces vers étaient inscrits au pied de la grande statue de St. Christophe, jadis érigée à l'entrée intérieure de Notre Dame de Paris, (comme de beaucoup d'autres églises médiévales). Ils faisaient allusion à la superstition d'alors: qu'on ne pouvait mourir d'accident, le jour où on avait vu la statue du saint.

J'ai repris ces paroles, naturellement dans un sens symbolique, en présentant mon Christophe comme un grand compagnon qui ne laissera point les amis mourir dans l'abandon.

Mais j'ai évité, à dessein, d'expliquer l'énigmatique devise; car *Jean-Christophe* m'était plus qu'un livre offert au public; il m'était une confession, dont je gardai et garderai toujours plus d'un secret.

This note is not only very interesting, but contains some valuable new information in regard to *Jean-Christophe*. So far as the writer has been able to discover, not one of M. Rolland's biographers or commentators has even touched on the subject of the origin or symbolism of the name of the hero, except to call attention to the obvious symbolism of the name Krafft, and of Christophe as St. Christopher. The latter identification is of course made evident by the use of the St. Christopher legend in the closing pages of the work. Johann Christof Bach, uncle of the much-more-famous Johann Sebastian Bach, has apparently never been mentioned, nor has the symbolism of the name Jean for John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ. Rolland's comment on the symbolism of the Latin motto is of even greater significance, both as a revelation of what *Jean-Christophe* means to him and as a challenge to the ever inquisitive world of scholarship to discover if it can those secrets which he intends to keep forever, and which make the book mean one thing to the public and another to its author.

During his first visit to Rome the idea took more definite shape, the hero being conceived as a sort of a

En réalité j'avais l'exemple du XVIII^e siècle français—de Voltaire, de Diderot, que j'ai toujours beau-

second Parsifal, a "pure fool" who should go through life judging the modern world with naïve and merciless sincerity and outspokenness [p. xxii; published text modified after receipt of Rolland's note].

coup aimés. Je voulais écrire, moi aussi, mon "Huron" à Paris.

Here for the first time we are in direct conflict with Rolland's biographers, the most important of whom are Paul Seippel¹ and Stefan Zweig.² Both Seippel (p. 105) and Zweig (pp. 162-63) link the genesis of *Jean-Christophe* with Wagner's *Parsifal*. There seems to be good reason for this. Rolland's hero has much in common with Wagner's "pure fool," and *Jean-Christophe* first took definite shape in its author's mind while he was in Rome under the influence of Malwida von Meysenbug, the friend of Wagner, and the perfect incarnation, as Rolland himself tells us, of the old idealistic Germany. Furthermore, it was in her company that Rolland first visited Bayreuth and heard *Parsifal*. Yet in spite of all this M. Rolland now states that he was not thinking of Parsifal at all, but of Voltaire and Diderot and the French eighteenth century. Is he right, or is this another case where the author proves to be an inaccurate critic of his own work?

The Introduction to *L'Aube* as submitted to M. Rolland referred in two different places to the influence of *Parsifal*. The first time he merely put two question marks. The second time this occurred he wrote the note we are now considering. The reference to Voltaire is specific enough; the one to Diderot is not so easily identified. One of Diderot's novels has a musician for its hero, a fact which Rolland must have noted and which may have influenced him. This is Diderot's masterpiece, *Le Neveu de Rameau*, that fantastic dialogue between the author himself and the cynical, disillusioned nephew of the distinguished musician. On one of the very first pages of this novel Diderot gives us a description of his hero:

... Je n'estime pas ces originaux-là; d'autres en font leurs connaissances familières, même leurs amis. Ils m'arrêtent une fois l'an, quand je les rencontre, parce que leur caractère tranche avec celui des autres, et qu'ils rompent cette fastidieuse uniformité que notre éducation, nos conventions de société, nos bienséances d'usage, ont introduite. S'il en paraît un dans une

Op. cit.

Romain Rolland, *the Man and His Work*. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1921.

compagnie, c'est un grain de levain qui fermente et qui restitue à chacun une portion de son individualité naturelle. Il secoue, il agite, il fait approuver ou blâmer; il fait sortir la vérité, il fait connaître les gens de bien, il démasque les coquins: c'est alors que l'homme de bon sens écoute et démêle son monde [Assézat-Tourneux ed. (Paris: Garnier, 1875-77), V, 389].

Christophe possesses many of these characteristics, but in spite of this is essentially unlike the nephew of Rameau. The influence of Voltaire's famous Huron, the hero of his *Ingénu*, is vastly more obvious. The turbulent savage from beyond the seas who comes to France and plays havoc with social, political, and religious conventions by the naïve assumption that people live as they preach has much in common with the violent Christophe, much more indeed than has the meek and guileless Parsifal, who is too timid, or too foolish, to ask the question which will save Amfortas, king of the Grail. Both Voltaire's Huron and M. Rolland's hero resemble more closely the proverbial bull in the china-shop than they do the passive Wagnerian hero.

It is interesting to note in this connection that not a single commentary on Rolland with which the writer is acquainted mentions the French eighteenth century in connection with *Jean-Christophe*. This note therefore opens up a whole new field for investigation.

Before leaving this point the writer must confess that he doubts whether Seippel, Zweig, and others who probably follow their lead are entirely wrong in attributing to *Parsifal* at least a certain degree of influence on the conception of *Jean-Christophe*. The circumstantial evidence is too strong to be brushed lightly aside. This influence may have been more or less unconscious, it may seem unimportant to M. Rolland in retrospect, or it may have been forgotten with the lapse of over thirty years, but the writer is not entirely convinced, even by M. Rolland's direct statement, that there was no such influence.

Rolland seems to have borrowed this hatred of Brahms from Hugo Wolf. [Note as submitted to M. Rolland. Statement modified in published volume, p. 162.]

En vérité, je n'aime pas Brahms. Tout en reconnaissant qu'il est un bon musicien, son art me semble néo-romantique, médiocrement original.

Au reste, il est à remarquer que l'injustice est un des traits de la nature passionnée du jeune Christophe. Il ne prétend pas à l'impartialité mais à la sincérité.—Plus tard,

The original of Hassler is Wagner. Cf. Zweig, page 174. [Note as submitted to M. Rolland. Changed in published volume, p. 166.]

au cours de l'œuvre, il reconnaîtra ses injustices envers les vieux musiciens sentimentaux ou pédantesques de l'Allemagne. (Cf. *Foire sur la place*.) Et il viendra même à jouer et chanter un Lied de son "vieil ennemi" Brahms (fin des *Amies*).

Jamais je n'ai songé à Wagner pour Hassler. Wagner est le type même du héros musical, qui n'a jamais fléchi, qui s'est développé jusqu'à sa mort.

Le tragique de Hassler, c'est qu'il s'arrête en route, malgré son génie, corrompu par le succès. Je n'avais que trop de modèles vivants sous les yeux, mais il ne serait pas convenable de les nommer. Au reste, dans tout *Jean-Christophe*, il n'y a pas un seul personnage (à l'exception peut-être de l'actrice Corinne) qui soit un portrait. Tous sont des types inventés, autour desquels sont venus se grouper des faits observés et notés, appartenant à plusieurs personnages pour un seul type de roman.

Quant à Hugo Wolf, je ne le connaissais pas même de nom, avant d'écrire *L'Adolescent*; et je ne me suis servi de lui que pour quelques traits de *la Révolte* (la campagne de critique faite par Christophe, et la visite à Schultz). Rien avant. Rien après. Stephan Zweig se trompe absolument, et je lui ai fait remarquer. Le pauvre Wolf qui est le type du génie vaincu, et à demi raté, ne peut être le modèle de Johann-Christof, qui traverse le fleuve, avec l'enfant sur ses épaules.

Mort de l'auteur

jamais je n'ai songé
à Wagner, pas
Hassler. Wagner est
le type même des
héros musicaux, qui
n'a jamais fléchi,
qui s'est développé
jusqu'à sa mort.

Le tragique de
Hassler, c'est qu'il
vivait en route, malade, son génie,
cette force pour le solennel. Je n'avais
que trop de modèles vivants sous
les yeux. Je ne pourrais pas
continuer de les imiter.
En reste, dans ton roman
Christophe, il n'y a pas un seul
personnage à l'exception
de l'acteur Corinthe,
qui soit un portrait. Tous
sont des types idéaux,
des types idéaux,
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Révolte (la campagne de critique
faite par Christophe, et la
visite à Schatz). Rien, avant.

Rien, après. Stephen Zweig se trompe
absolument, et je le lui ai fait remarquer.
Le pauvre Wolf, qui est le type du
génie vaincu, est le dernier. Il n'a
pas pu être le modèle du Johann-Christoph,
qui traverse le fleuve, avec l'épave sur ses épaules.

FACSIMILE OF ROMAIN ROLLAND'S NOTE ON WAGNER, HASSLER,
AND HUGO WOLF

These two comments, which we have reserved for the last, are perhaps the most interesting and significant of all. They deal with the rôles of Brahms, Hugo Wolf, and Wagner in *Jean-Christophe*. Again the biographer gives one version, the author another. Zweig (p. 174) attributes to Wolf a decisive influence on Rolland's hero. According to him, Christophe owes to Wolf his hatred for Brahms; the visit to Hassler (Wagner), the musical criticism in *La Révolte*, the visit to Schultz (Emil Kaufmann)—all go back to the same source. "Furthermore," writes Zweig, "Wolf's whole character, his method of musical creation, is transferred into the soul of Jean-Christophe."

Some of this M. Rolland confirms. Much more of it he positively denies. The comment on Brahms confirms what is evident from the text of *Jean-Christophe*, that the hero's dislike for Brahms is based on something much deeper than a mere borrowing from the character of Wolf. In a thoroughly convincing manner M. Rolland limits the influence of the unfortunate song-writer to the campaign of criticism and the visit to Schultz. Incidentally, as we have already seen, Schultz is at least in part drawn from Malwida von Meysenbug, not Emil Kaufmann.

Why does Zweig identify Hassler as Wagner, when so many things, notably M. Rolland's own intense admiration for Wagner and the many references to him in *Jean-Christophe*, seem to argue against such an identification? Undoubtedly because of the incident of the visit of Christophe to Hassler in *La Révolte*. This visit is almost an exact reproduction of Wolf's visit to Wagner in Vienna in 1875, an incident which M. Rolland has related in his *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. The categorical limitation of the influence of Wolf on *Jean-Christophe* would, if taken literally, exclude even this seemingly obvious case. At any rate, M. Rolland's illuminating comment on his method of creating his characters shows clearly of how little value such external evidence is. The Hassler of *La Révolte* is thoroughly consistent with the Hassler of *L'Aube*. Yet when he wrote *L'Aube* M. Rolland had never even heard of the name of Hugo Wolf, to say nothing of the latter's visit to Wagner. Hassler is not Wagner, but a composite of some of M. Rolland's own too successful contemporaries. Again the field is opened, and we are at liberty to decide for ourselves just what individuals he had in mind.

These few errors in Zweig's biography, all of them in the highly dangerous field of literary influences and identifications of fictional characters with real ones, need in no way detract from our high opinion of his work as a whole. He has given us the best biography of Rolland in existence at the present time, even though its tone is too much that of a disciple toward a beloved master. Nevertheless, even the few errors in this work which M. Rolland has corrected in the marginal notes we have been discussing must raise a general question in our minds. Rarely does a biographer stand in as close personal relations to his subject as in this case. In the Préface to *Le Jeu de l'Amour et de la Mort*, which is dedicated to Stefan Zweig, the latter is referred to as "le bon Européen Stefan Zweig, qui m'a été depuis quinze ans [*italics mine*] le plus fidèle et le meilleur conseiller." If this statement is accurate this intimacy must have existed for over a full decade before the appearance of the biography. If in spite of such close relationship even these few errors could creep into the work, how much greater the chance, even the certainty, of more numerous errors in the most careful biographical study, when the author treated is not the contemporary of the biographer and cannot arise to correct or confirm his statements.

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OF THE BARRThe first volume of this history of the city of Boston, from the first settlement to the present time, is now published. It contains a full and complete account of the early history of the city, from the first settlement in 1630, to the year 1700. The second volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the city from 1700 to the present time. The author has endeavored to give a full and complete account of all the important events of the city's history, and to give a full and complete account of the lives of all the important persons who have been connected with the city. The history is written in a clear and concise style, and is well adapted for the use of students and the general reader. The price of the two volumes is \$1.00.

FRANKLIN AND CARLI'S *LETTERE AMERICANE*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S familiarity with the *Lettere Americane* of Count Gianrinaldo Carli appears from a letter published in the twelfth volume (pp. ix-x) of Carli's *Opere* (Milan, 1784-87; Vols. XI-XIV, containing the *Lettere*, published in 1786). The publisher calls attention in the Preface to praises of Carli's work by three natives of America. The first is the Mexican Clavigero and the second is the Chilean Molina, both of them authors of historical works on their own countries published in Italy.

Il terzo finalmente è il celebre Sig. Dottore Beniamino Franklin; che rispose alla qui unita Lettera allo stampatore Lorenzo Manini di Cremona, che gli dedicò la sua edizione delle Americane.

Following is the letter:

SIGNORE.

PASSY 19 Novembre 1784.

Voi mi faceste un gran piacere coll'avermi mandate le *Lettere Americane*, e nell'avermi per tal modo procurata l'occasione di leggere quell'eccellente Opera, ripiena non meno di un fino giudizio e buon senso che di varietà di cognizioni e di dottrina. Accettatene, vi prego, i miei più sinceri ringraziamenti: sono poi estremamente sensibile all' onore della Dedicà che me n' è stata fatta.

È da qualche tempo che per voi è consegnato al Sig. Co. Castiglioni un libro, che egli cortesemente si è impegnato d' inoltrarvi; troverete in esso le Costituzioni de i nostri Stati d'America, che io ò fatto tradurre e stampar qui. Io credo che potessero esser da voi gradite e dall'Autore delle *Lettere* sud-dette. Adesso vi spedisco qui inchiusi due piccoli miei Scritti intorno all' America, sperando che questi sieno vevoli a recarvi qualche trattenimento. Vi prego di presentare al Sig. Presidente Carli i miei rispetti e i miei ringraziamenti per la sua arguta difesa contro gli attacchi di quel mal informato e maligno Scrittore, che per certo non parla bene di nessuna persona senza pentirsene sul momento e senza ritrattarsene in appresso. Con gran rispetto ò l'onore di essere

SIGNORE

Vostro Fratello e Servitore

BENIAMINO FRANKLIN.

The Castiglioni mentioned in Franklin's letter is Count Luigi Castiglioni (1756-1832), of Milan, who later spent two years in America and published (Milan, 1790) an account in two volumes of his travels: *Viaggio negli Stati Uniti dell'America settentrionale fatto negli anni 1785, 1786, e 1787 da Luigi Castiglioni, patrizio Milanese, cavaliere dell'Ordine di S. Stefano P.M., membro della Società filosofica di Filadelfia, e della Patriotica di Milano, Con alcune osservazioni sui vegetabili più utili di quel paese.*

CHARLES R. D. MILLER

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

REVIEWS

Lactantius and Milton. By KATHLEEN ELLEN HARTWELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp. x+220.

Milton et le matérialisme chrétien. Par DENIS SAURAT. Paris: Rieder, 1928. Pp. 243.

These two books on Milton illustrate strikingly the contrast of older and newer methods in the study of that author.

Lactantius and Milton is "the first in a series of publications begun at Radcliffe College in the spring of 1929 in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the college." The starting-point of the dissertation is the suggestion made in 1908 by Mr. A. F. Leach that Milton was probably influenced by Lactantius and that his knowledge of the earlier writer may well have begun at St. Paul's School. Miss Hartwell has collected a number of passages in which she thinks it may be possible to posit the influence of Lactantius, but she admits that the result of her examination has led to little more specific proof than was offered by Mr. Leach, and until the final paragraphs of the book her candid acceptance of the fact that her possible parallels may not be parallels at all is refreshing to the reader accustomed to the tendency of students to transform their molehills of parallelisms into mountains of rhetoric. In her conclusion, however (pp. 132-33), she insists that although "there is no single bit, not even the passages connected with the *Areopagitica* or the *Epitaphium Damonis*, on which one can put one's finger and say, 'Here and nowhere else did Milton certainly get this information, or this idea,'" yet we do have "a cumulative impression of a very real connection between the two writers." And considering the almost negative results which she reports in earlier chapters, her final summary is dogmatic in the extreme: "There seems to be no room for doubt that Milton knew Lactantius thoroughly, that he stopped to weigh the Latin Father's words, and that the results of these ponderings affected the conceptions and the expression of passages in Milton's poetry and prose, Latin as well as English, both early and late in his career" (pp. 132-33).

The publication of this dissertation, so reminiscent of many others both in subject matter and in labored exposition, raises two important questions: In how far does such a subject as this justify the months or years which have been spent upon it? And, if the subject be allowed, what justification is there for its presentation in book form? Miss Hartwell in her Preface has unconsciously answered both questions, thus passing judgment upon herself and indicating the danger of such topics for the beginner in scholarship. "Insuffi-

cient knowledge of the Church Fathers other than Lactantius," she says, "has been a constant hindrance to the evaluation of the influence of Lactantius himself. A wide knowledge of patristic literature would be necessary to pronounce definitely that such and such a passage can have been influenced by a single Father and by no other" (p. vii). That, of course, is just the point. It would be rare, indeed, that a youthful graduate student would already have that "wide knowledge of patristic literature" without which studies such as this must remain barren and inconclusive. There is another lack, too, observable in many such volumes, which Miss Hartwell also suggests in an amusingly naïve statement of her method (p. viii): "The method has been a comparison of the works of both authors, by reading first in one and then in the other, with a constant sifting of the evidence with reference to a possible influence wherever thought or expression was similar. The first reading in Lactantius was done in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* translation of his works, but as soon as a salient point was reached, the translation was dropped for the original Latin. . . ." It would seem hardly necessary to raise the obvious question of the value of any translation, particularly of theological and philosophical works, as a means of determining sources, or to ask how, when seeking delicate and elusive likenesses, the author was aware through her translation that she had reached a "salient point." The Preface is only too clear an illustration of the danger of permitting students, unequipped with a thorough background in language and in reading, to work on problems of "sources" or "influence" in classical or patristic authors. It may be worth a student's while to use the period of graduate study to make a slight beginning, under competent direction, upon a subject the thorough handling of which must inevitably take years and maturity. But in that case there can be no justification for the publication of the partial and imperfect results. If the findings must be printed, surely a paper stressing briefly the apparent negative results is sufficient. Certainly no good reason exists for the publication at length, in book form, of conclusions the lack of validity of which the author herself feels it necessary to indicate in her Preface.

In an Appendix (pp. 161-66) Miss Hartwell raises the question of a possible influence upon Milton's mind of the prayers which he heard as a boy in St. Paul's School, and suggests that parts of two of these prayers were incorporated by him in the words of Christ (*Paradise Regained*, I, 201-14). She is evidently not aware that the same point was made by S. H. Steadman in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, August 11, 1927, page 548.

The second book is of a very different order of merit and interest. Among European students of Milton no one has done more than Professor Denis Saurat to give new life to Miltonic research or to determine the directions in which some of the more fruitful recent investigation has gone. His thesis, *La Pensée de Milton* (Paris, 1920), especially in the enlarged English version which appeared in 1925 (*Milton: Man and Thinker*), has many claims to be called an epoch-making book, even though some of its conclusions have had to

be modified in the light of later study. He has now published what may be regarded as a second French edition of his work: *Milton et le matérialisme chrétien*. The most important difference between this and the earlier forms of the book is in point of view: he is no longer concerned primarily with Milton's psychological evolution, but with his historical relations; his aim is to situate Milton "dans le mouvement de pensée de son temps, et dans une phase très curieuse de ce mouvement: la formation du matérialisme qui, à ce moment est sorti, non du scepticisme, mais d'une catégorie particulière d'idées religieuses" (p. 78). Accordingly he has omitted whatever in the former editions had to do with Milton's personal history, the detailed interpretation of the great poems, or the sources of the myth of the Fall, and has rearranged the rest so as to place his exposition of Milton's ideas (which remains unchanged) after, instead of before, his study of the earlier current of *panthéisme matérialiste* from which they derived. He has, moreover, enlarged somewhat his analyses of the doctrines of Fludd and the Mortalists, whom he now studies as much for their own sake as for the effect which they may have had on Milton.

Detailed criticism of the book in its present form is out of the question here. I can merely suggest one point. In discussing the ideas of the Mortalists, Saurat lays emphasis, justly it would seem, on the debt which they owed to Fludd for some of their more purely philosophical conceptions (see pp. 51-54). He fails to remark, however, that in its main tenets—the death of the soul with the body and its restoration to life only at the Resurrection—their doctrine was but the revival of a heresy as old as the time of Origen, who is said by Eusebius to have gone to Arabia to dispute against it. In the century before Milton, Calvin had renewed the attack in a manner which suggests that the error was again prevalent (see his *Psychopannychia*, 1534), and in 1642, a year before the appearance of Overton's *Man's Mortality*, there are interesting references to it in Browne's *Religio Medici* (sec. VII) and in Henry More's poem *Antipsychopannychia*. The antiquity of the idea, moreover, was clearly recognized by Overton's contemporaries: Sir Kenelm Digby in his note on the passage in Browne refers to Eusebius, St. Augustine, and Nicephorus; and Ephraim Pagitt, who discusses the Mortalists under the caption of "Soul-Sleepers" in his *Heresiography* (London, 1645), speaks of the doctrine of *Man's Mortality* as "an old and despicable Heresie, raised in Arabia, about the time of Origen," and now "risen up again amongst us" (5th ed., London, 1654, p. 127). Something can be added also to Saurat's interesting account in his Appendix (pp. 232-39) of the survival of Mortalism after the time of Milton. That the heresy still had adherents in England at the close of the seventeenth century is indicated by Charles Leslie in a series of papers in his *Rehearsal* (April 26-July 5, 1707) attacking the somewhat similar views of John Asgill and William Coward; in attempting to refute the claim to originality made by the latter he mentions not only *Man's Mortality* but a collection of "Six other Treatises to the same Purpose," which he says he has seen bound together in a

large quarto volume. He gives the titles of all six and the dates of four of them (1657, 1670, 1692, 1697), and concludes by referring once more to Eusebius with the triumphant remark, "Now see the *Original* of those who wou'd be thought *Virtuosoes* among us!" (Nos. 219, 220, June 21, 25). I may add that I have recently acquired a copy of an anonymous tract of the same sort but of even later date: *The Materiality or Mortality of the Soul of Man, and its Sameness with the Body, . . . shewing, That upon the Death of the Body, all Sensation and Consciousness utterly cease, till the Resurrection of the Dead* (London: John Noon, 1729). And it is not likely that this was the last.

R. S. CRANE

A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642. By EDWIN NUNGEZER. ("Cornell Studies in English," Vol. XIII.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.

Mr. Edwin Nungezer's *Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642* is a most useful book which every student of English drama should buy forthwith. The value of such a work depends on its accuracy, fullness, and convenience of presentation; and a comparison with the biographical lists of actors printed in Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage*, Volume II, shows how much Mr. Nungezer has added (in the B's, for instance, he has ninety-six entries to Chambers' fifty-one). Chambers' lists stop short at 1616; but even so, Mr. Nungezer has many new names in the earlier period. Moreover, the information given, even about the most insignificant, is just what will be needed; for example:

BARNE, WILL.

From the extant plot of *Tamar Cam*, acted by the Admiral's men about October, 1602, it appears that "little Will Barne" was the boy actor who assumed the parts of Tarmia in the play and a Pigmy in the procession (*H.P.*, p. 154). Fleay conjectures that he also acted Leonora in the Admiral's play of *Frederick and Basilea* in June, 1597 (*Stage*, p. 141).

"BLACK DICK"

In *Frederick and Basilea*, presented by the Admiral's men in 1597, "Black Dick" acted the part of a servant, a guard, a messenger, a confederate, and a jailor (*H.P.*, p. 153).

The corresponding entries in Chambers are—

BARNE, WILLIAM. Admiral's, 1602.

'BLACK DICK.' Admiral's, 1597.

In entering the more important names, Mr. Nungezer has quoted fully from relevant sources so that a reader who is concerned with Kemp or Richard Burbage will find all here and have no need to hunt up a dozen references elsewhere. On the other hand, two important names—Shakespeare and Jonson—are rather sketchily treated; a complete list of the references to Shake-

speare as an actor would have been valuable, and Jonson's duel with Spencer should have been mentioned under "Jonson" or else referred to "Spencer, Gabriel."

The bibliography is somewhat puzzling both in its arrangement and its selection. There may be good reasons, but Mr. Nungezer has not given them, why the Calendars of State Papers should appear under "Calendar" but the *Acts of the Privy Council* under "Dasent." Herford and Simpson's biography of Jonson is mentioned under "Herford," but their edition of the plays is omitted; for Jonson's *Conversations*, Patterson's edition is quoted, but that printed in Herford and Simpson is the standard text; Chettle's *Kindhart's Dream* is included, but the *Groatsworth of Wit* is omitted; for Webster, Hazlitt's edition, not Lucas', is given; Tannenbaum's *Book of Sir Thomas More* is included, but the more important *Shakespeare's Handwriting in Sir Thomas More* is omitted.

The printing of the book is very pleasing, but wider margins for the owner's notes are desirable. Moreover, the running title should show the contents of the page; when we open at pages 182-83, we do not need to be told that we are reading *A Dictionary of Actors* but whether we should turn forward or backward to find "Heywood, Thomas." But it is ungrateful to grumble at small points. Mr. Nungezer has not only compiled a standard book of reference; he has also succeeded in making it most readable. Perhaps some other scholar will be bold to follow him with *A Dictionary of Elizabethan Writers*.

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Anthologie der geistigen Kultur auf der Pyrenäenhalbinsel (Mittelalter) mit Erläuterungen und Glossar. By DR. WILHELM GIESE. ("Bibliothek der Ibero-Amerikanischen Auslandskunde," Reihe A: Handbücher.) Hamburg and Berlin: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1927. Pp. xv+375.

Lesebuch der älteren spanischen Literatur, von den Anfängen bis 1800. By WERNER MULERTT. ("Sammlung kurzer Lehrbücher der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen," Vol. X). Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1927. Pp. xiv+391.

Two new Spanish anthologies of importance have appeared. The first of these is designed by the compiler as a volume of illustrative texts for his forthcoming *Geschichte der geistigen Kultur auf der Pyrenäenhalbinsel (Mittelalter)*. As such, it includes not merely examples of medieval literature in Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan, but also historical and legal materials in the three languages. Further illustrations of the cultural development of the

period are offered by series of texts in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew (the last two in German translations). Finally, there are three brief texts, of the fifteenth century, in Basque.

To judge the merit of the selections without their companion volume is hazardous, but in general the choice is judicious and the range of interest great. For the student of language it would have been perhaps wise to include some example of the Aragonese dialect, a *fuero*, for instance, instead of one of the Leonese *fueros*. Although the interest of the compiler is not primarily textual, he has for the most part exercised care in the choice of valid texts. One would have expected him, however, to prefer Solalinde's edition of the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, Marden's edition of the *Libro de Apolonio*, the Ducamin text of the *Libro de buen amor*, and Cronan's reprint of the *Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego*, rather than those he has adopted. Each selection is prefaced by a brief biographical and bibliographical note. The volume closes with a few notes on the content of the texts, a glossary of unfamiliar words in the several languages, and indexes of authors and materials. The inclusion of nine facsimiles of manuscripts and a map of Spain add to the utility and attractiveness of the work.

We are too prone to study the development of the several sections of Spain as individual and unrelated entities. Certainly during the Middle Ages no such arbitrary lines of division existed. Dr. Giese's anthology will serve as a valuable collection of evidence of the spiritual unity of the peninsula.

Dr. Mulerdt's volume is clearly intended as a basis for reading in a general survey of Spanish literature. The materials are arranged in four groups, devoted to the oldest period, the fifteenth century, the Golden Age, and the eighteenth century. There are no biographical or bibliographical aids, but, on the other hand, the notes (printed at the foot of the pages) are extremely thorough and there is a complete vocabulary of all words found in the texts. The selections are chosen with exceptional judgment, although their brevity is at times distressing. One would like to find some illustration of the learned poetry of the thirteenth century. Surely any anthology could make place for some of the verses of San Juan de la Cruz; Cadalso might have appeared among the authors of the eighteenth century. But this would have meant a larger volume. The compiler has given unusual care to the choice and establishment of his texts. Not content with choosing an acceptable edition, he has collated his texts with other printed texts and even with manuscripts. Where no modern authentic text exists, he has had recourse to early editions, and in some cases, as, for example, in the *República literaria* of Saavedra Fajardo, he has even established a critical text. There can be no question of the importance of insisting, even with elementary students, on the necessity of accurate texts, and Dr. Mulerdt's scholarly exactness in presenting these fragments of textual method is inspiring. But one wonders whether students who are at the stage in linguistic study to require a complete vocabulary could profit by the elaborate apparatus of variant readings which he has included.

There are numerous anthologies of Spanish literature. Dr. Mulerdt's *Leesebuch* comes nearer to providing an adequate survey than any hitherto available. It is to be regretted that the Vocabulary gives German equivalents, for otherwise the book would be admirably suited to the needs of teachers of survey-courses in American schools.

HAYWARD KENISTON

Walt Whitman's Workshop. A collection of unpublished manuscripts.

Edited with an Introduction and notes by CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS. Harvard University Press. 4to. Pp. xvi+265. \$7.50.

The manuscripts collected by Mr. Furness form the third important set of Whitman material made available for the general reader within the decade. It is more valuable in substance, just as it is more impressive in published form, than either Rodgers' and Black's *Gathering of the Forces* or Holloway's *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*. This need imply nothing derogatory to these pairs of volumes in 1920 and 1921. The whole series seems to be an ascending one. In format the opulent quarto is sentimentally attractive because it follows in size, page design, and binding either the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* or the *Complete Poems* of 1888, both of which represented Whitman's personal taste. The new material, hitherto unpublished except for the third selection and a few fragments printed in somewhat remote French journals,¹ is presented in six groups: I. "Notes for Lectures"; II. "Anti-Slavery Notes"; III. "The Eighteenth Presidency!"; IV. "Introductions Intended for American Editions of *Leaves of Grass*"; V. "Introduction for a London Edition"; VI. "To the Foreign Reader." An appendix contains variant manuscripts of the American introductions; and the whole is buttressed with eighty-five pages of notes, in which the editor brings to bear his generous knowledge of the entire reach of Whitmaniana.

In the bibliography accumulating around the life and writings of Whitman most of the contributions are classifiable as either scholastic or ecstatic. The ecstatic, such as Harrison Morris' little volume just issued,² are neither accurately informative nor soundly critical, though they may include, as this book does, a few pages of definite impressions salvaged from diaries, letters, or journals. The scholastic tend to be accurate but deficient in critical feeling. Mr. Furness' book has the amiable qualities of both kinds, and only the minor defects.

The scholastic values are inherent in the clear, and often fresh, implications of the important documents resigned "with all their blots to image back the process" for the edification of the reader and the student. The relationship

¹ (a) "The Eighteenth Presidency," printed in French translation in *Navire d'Argent*, May, 1926, and in an English pamphlet by M. Jean Catel, Montpellier, 1928; (b) five fragments in *L'Anc d'or* (Montpellier), February-March, 1926; (c) one fragment in *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, June, 1926.

² *Walt Whitman, a Brief Biography with Reminiscences* (Harvard Press).

of Whitman's interest in public speaking to his poetic "message" and poetic style is vital but not hitherto unheralded. The report of an outdoor political speech of the young journalist in 1841,¹ even though it was conventional in phrase and rhythms, is far nearer his ultimate style and far broader in sentiment than most of his written prose of the forties; and throughout the Holloway selections there is a clear progression toward the forensic, until certain passages in the prose are indistinguishable to the ear from characteristic Whitman verse. Nevertheless, the notes for lectures—not only on lecturing and oratory, but also on religion, democracy, and literature—are added indications of Whitman's unsatisfied ambitions to achieve as a speaker, and of the rhetorical qualities of his later verse.

The most striking contribution, however, of this unfamiliar material is the fresh light it throws on the poet's painstaking and almost painful processes of composition. In his published poems there is almost every evidence that he wrote with the ease and extravagance of the free-flowing pen; so much so that the long-current knowledge of his meticulous revisions for republication has still left most students unaware of his original procedure. The Furness selections, particularly many of the lesser ones incidental to the introductory material or to the notes, reveal an almost unparalleled evolution in writing from chaotic thought to orderly expression—a procedure laborious and protracted in its random jottings, iterative recurrences, tentative articulations, lists of undetermined variants, trial drafts, and repeated emendations; all of them fully exhibited for the first time in this volume. In the presentation of this sort of data, most definitely matter of the workshop because most closely related to Whitman's use of his tools, Mr. Furness has made a valuable contribution to the knowledge of Whitman's poetic craftsmanship. It is an intensely interesting one.

Moreover, these newly printed selections are hardly less interesting, and more abounding with evidence, in their application to Whitman's prose writing. It has long been known that he secured publication for various of his own anonymous comments on his life and work, and that he connived at introducing more into articles and introductions ascribed to others. But from 1855 on, he also cherished and wrought on a plan to publish introductions for American editions as from his own pen, and to issue an introduction for a London edition presumptively by a friendly English expositor. The drafts for both American and English "promulging" disappeared more than twenty years before Whitman's death; both sets were elaborately and repeatedly revised as long as they were in his hands, both contain ideas that appear elsewhere in his prose and verse, and both afford proof of the poet's broodings over his materials and his careful economy of results. These old drafts, found among his papers by his literary executors, bear full and conclusive witness to these points.

When, however, Mr. Furness turns from questions of text to questions

¹ Holloway, *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 51.

of broader criticism, he abandons the sober tread of the scholar in his study and totters on the precipitous edge of ecstasy, not always keeping his balance. He never goes quite so far as John Black's Foreword to *The Gathering of the Forces*, but he demonstrates that he is not altogether immune to the insidious contagion of Whitmania. It should be said, in all fairness, that Mr. Furness in his general introduction draws a clear distinction between the study of Whitman's writing methods and the enjoyment of his completed work; and it is fortunate that he keeps the latter always in mind. But when the seasoned reader discovers that he must "loaf and invite the soul of Walt Whitman," he never quite frees himself from the imminent but happily unfulfilled liability of encountering the poet on some page as "Walt" or "the good, gray poet." All that he does encounter is the occasional lack of discrimination that not quite controlled enthusiasm engenders; the kind, for example, that can say of Whitman's toilsome whittlings, filings, and polishings, his rejections, elaborations, substitutions, and emendations that "all the elements of Whitman's personality are here poured together in a whirling, vital compound of fluid essences"; what the editor has finely revealed being not the phenomena of a spiral nebula, nor even of empirical catalysis, but of a patient craftsman in his workshop.

Yet this sort of condonable lyric zest is not all. Mr. Furness is led to transfer his enthusiasm for Whitman to the particular material of his choice; and this in turn leads him sometimes to make undue claims as to its fresh significance, and at least once to blink at unwelcome implications. When he declares that Whitman's lifelong interest in public speaking and his inclination to reach his public orally "have an even more vital connection with the form in which his ideas eventually cast themselves than had the lyceum lectures of Emerson with that author's published writings," he indulges in a needlessly categorical statement of the kind that ecstatic criticism is always straying into. If it is worth making, it is worth substantiating. Instead of doing this, Mr. Furness gives no further treatment to the Emerson side, states of the Whitman side that the data are largely in manuscripts which have not been collected, and proceeds in his discussion not to the form but to the content of Whitman's lecture notes. It would strengthen rather than weaken the editor's allusion to "the general trend toward expansion of ideas" as Whitman matured, to acknowledge that in the *Brooklyn Eagle* days his editorials on immigration¹ reveal an international altruism; and that among the notebook memoranda of 1847² is an eloquent passage on a "vast and tremendous" scheme that "involves no less than constructing a nation of nations." Mr. Furness' iteration that Whitman's conception of the creative imagination of the poet was practically identical with the religious intuition of the Quaker, while founded in a genuine identity, is misleading in its implication that in this there is anything peculiar to Whitman with his partial Quaker heritage

¹ *The Gathering of the Forces*, I, 3-27 and elsewhere.

² *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 76.

as distinct from Emerson with his purely Calvinistic, or Wordsworth with his Anglican derivation, or from any other creative artist who has tried to think back to the genesis of his conceptions.

Again, Mr. Furness slips even when treading among much less abstract ideas than these; as, for example in his various and discrepant statements about Whitman's unpublished proof (which was no more than a form of draft for him) of "The Eighteenth Presidency!" This is an extraordinarily virulent and abusive attack on the political methods and political leaders of 1856. It exceeds in vehemence anything that Whitman published in his journalistic days. The cold essentials of the argument are partly to be found at a point overlooked by Mr. Furness, an *Eagle* editorial of 1847.¹ Of the later diatribe Mr. Furness writes on page 15, in the general introduction: "He intended that this pamphlet should be published and scattered broadcast to the laboring people, farmers and mechanics of 'These States.'" In the proof copy Whitman invokes the help of independent editors and rich men in doing this; but as events show, everything depends on how much his writing or his habit of putting an article into type gave evidence of either the reality or the permanence of an intention. On page 87, in the introduction to this particular reprint, Mr. Furness writes, "Evidently the progressive editors and rich persons were not forthcoming." On page 89 he alludes to a memorandum by Whitman written less than a year later declaring "it to be his intention to keep clear of all political entanglements." On page 91 he says with reference to the same unpublished pamphlet, "We undoubtedly have Whitman off his guard for the moment." And in a note on page 238 he writes, "It would have taken considerable courage to publish so virulent a polemic against vested authority as the 'Eighteenth Presidency.' Perhaps Whitman also reconsidered that move, and never offered it 'to the editors of the independent press' or 'any rich person' to publish." In view of these several passages, the presumption is exceedingly strong; but though the matter is frequently mentioned, the whole story is scattered from beginning to end of the book, the conclusion is tucked away in a note, and only the most painstaking reader will assemble it and arrive at his own conviction, which will then be considerably stronger than that of the editor.

However, such partial lapses as these do not characterize the book as a whole, and they should not be seized on as grounds for accepting Whitman's admonition "forever reject those who would expound me." Mr. Furness has assembled material invaluable to the student of Whitman. His exposition of its textual aspects is admirable. His findings on the literary aspects are always defensible, though sometimes out of proportion. And whatever adverse criticism one might make should carry with it the acknowledgment that this editor proceeds always on the assumption that the proper study of Whitman must inevitably go back to the man himself.

PERCY H. BOYNTON

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¹ Reprinted in *The Gathering of the Forces*, I, 208, and *The Uncollected Prose and Poetry*, I, 171.

BRIEFER MENTION

The collaborators on the Arthurian project at the University of Chicago are glad to announce that the text of the *Perlesvaus* ("The High History of the Holy Grail") is now ready for publication. The edition has been accepted by the University of Chicago Press, and will appear in two volumes. Volume I, to be published in 1930, contains the text, based on the MS Hatton 82 of the Bodleian Library, together with all important linguistic and literary variants found in the other MSS of the romance; Volume II, which is to follow in 1932-33, will contain a historical and linguistic commentary, and a glossary (by Professor T. A. Jenkins) of all significant words. A list of the proper names and an Index will complete the volumes. Supplementary to the foregoing is a volume of studies on the Lancelot and Guenevere legend, by Professors T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze, which the University of Chicago Press will publish this spring. It consists of an investigation of Chrétien de Troyes' *Roman de la Charrete*, on the basis of MS T (B. N. f. f. 12560), and a systematic analysis of the poet's method of composition. In dealing with the "matter" of the *Lancelot*, Professor Cross has brought together in this volume all the extant accounts of the Celtic abduction theme.

Our readers may also be interested in learning that plans are afoot to hold an international Arthurian congress in Cornwall, England, with headquarters at Truro, late in the coming August. A special feature of the program will be a visit to Glastonbury, under the guidance of Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Wells. Scholars in the United States are invited to attend and should communicate, at their earliest convenience, with Dr. J. Hambley Rowe, F.S.A., Bradford, Yorks. We express the hope that the American Society of Arthurian Studies, recently formed at the Cleveland meeting of the Modern Language Association, may be represented at this congress.—W. A. N.

The new *Abschnitt* of Luick's *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (comprising pages 549-796 of the first volume [Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1929]) surveys the changes in vowels from Middle English to the present time. Basing his conclusions largely on his previously published studies and using the judgments of Zachrisson, Wyld, and others when they support his views, the author attempts to solve most of the questions in this most difficult section of English linguistic history. He includes consideration of the dialect conditions during this period and even to a slight extent the phenomena of American English. In view of the uncertainty of evidence during a time when spelling hinders rather than helps the scholar and when he must rely upon interpre-

tation of errors in spelling, the ambiguous statement of early grammarians, the representation of words borrowed from foreign languages, etc., it is hardly to be expected that one author's conclusions will win universal acceptance. But at least each consideration of such problems by a trained mind advances knowledge, and such a synthesis as that which Luick presents is certain to answer many minor questions, to throw light on major difficulties, and to suggest to other scholars methods of attack and new possibilities.—J. R. H.

As the fifth of its "Language Dissertations," the Linguistic Society of America has published *Studies in the Syntax of the Old English Passive, with Special Reference to the Use of WESAN and WEORÐAN*, by Louise Grace Frary (1929; 80 pages). Prepared under the guidance of Professor Klaeber, this study analyzes the use of *wesan* and *weorðan* in Old English poetry and prose, but does not consider other ways of expressing the passive idea, e.g., the use of *man* with the active voice. Miss Frary shows the distinctions made by individual writers in the use of the two locutions and the causation of these distinctions. Having demonstrated the fact that the use of *weorðan* increases to the end of the Old English period, Miss Frary carries her study into Middle English, where from the beginning the use of *weorðan* is clearly archaic and out of fashion. To explain this extraordinary change, the author advances a very reasonable theory, that the disuse of *weorðan* was due to the influence on English of Scandinavian. As the old Norse cognate of *weorðan* was not used to make passives until a late period, such influence on English as the Scandinavian settlers had must have been directed against such usage. The presentation of this suggestive theory concludes this valuable and scholarly monograph.—J. R. H.

Barbara Matulka's *The Cid as a Courtly Hero: From the Amadís to Corneille* ("Institute of French Studies," Columbia University, 1928) is a very clear and convincing analysis of the evolution of the Cid from his historical status as turbulent vassal and freebooting chief, later a national hero, to the "paragon of knightly gallantry, the illustrious slave of an exacting code of honor" which we find in Guillén de Castro's *Mocedades del Cid* and in Corneille's *Cid*. The author attempts to show that the transformation of Don Rodrigo into a courtly knight is due to literary motives already common in Spanish literature before Guillén de Castro. Hence she takes exception to Mérimée's assertion that the courtly episodes are due to Castro's inventive genius.

The prose romances, particularly the *Amadís*, treat of the problem of love versus revenge and hatred. Parallels to the struggle of the heroine torn between passion and duty, love and honor, in the *Mocedades* and Corneille's *Cid* are found in Queen Sidonia's conflict as depicted in the *Florisel de Niquea* story of the *Amadís*. The queen of the romance and the heroine of the *Cid* plays both seek a champion to revenge them and ask for the head of the knight. The "living head" is accepted as satisfying the conditions by Queen Sidonia and

Jimena. Likewise in the *Amadís* Florisel hands over his sword to Sidonia asking her to kill him, just as in the *Mocedades* Rodrigo lays his sword at Jimena's feet.

In a primitive and romantic Cid tradition there is a family feud carried on between Rodrigo's family and Jimena's. The latter has learned to love her enemy. Upon her appeal to the king for justice and protection he suggests marriage as a solution, which proposal she gladly accepts. Miss Matulka's conclusion is that Castro's *Mocedades* represents an amalgamation of the primitive tradition and the *Florisel de Niquea* story. She also calls attention to the fact that several situations found neither in the *Romancero del Cid* nor in the *Florisel* novel have as a source Diego Jiménez de Ayllón's *Los Famosos y Heroicos Hechos del Invencible y Esforçado Cavallero Honra y Flor de las Españas El Cid Ruy Díaz de Bivar* (Antwerp, 1658).

Our author does not state that Castro drew directly from these sources, however, but thinks that there probably existed links between them and Castro's play. She calls attention to G. van Roosbroeck's conclusion in his study *The Cid Theme in France in 1600* (Minneapolis, 1920) that "there exists a common source—probably a Spanish source—for both the *Hayne et l'Amour d'Arnoul et de Clayremonde* and *Las Mocedades del Cid*." She suggests that this common source may have been the *Florisel de Niquea* story from the *Amadís*. This well-written and well-organized study is an interesting contribution in its field.—O. K. BORING.

The interest in Molière has been revived in Germany by two recent publications: the *Molière* of Hanns Heiss (Quelle und Meyer, 1929) and that of Walter Küchler (Teubner, 1929). Both scholars admit receiving their impetus from the new orientation given to Molière studies by Gustave Michaut. But, while Heiss is anything if not thorough, Küchler, somewhat naively, defends the theory that Molière is to be understood wholly as an exponent of comic craftsmanship: *theatralik* is the ponderous word applied to an art whose touch-and-go has been so luminously set forth by Meredith in the *Essay on Comedy*. Deliberately ignoring the poet's background, the fact that his sense of humor inevitably included himself as well as others—in short, that his *bon sens* was rooted deeply—Küchler reduces poetic achievement to a *mechanismus* (see pp. 43 and 62 for typical examples) which totally blinds him to any of Molière's finer traits. It also leads him into strange misjudgments: he misses (p. 22) the balanced satire of *les Femmes savantes*, states that the psychology of love (*die problematik der Liebe*) is found only in *le Misanthrope* (what about *Amphitryon*? or, indeed, *l'Ecole des Femmes*?), reduces the poet's gifts to "essential joyousness," "brilliant superficiality" (p. 239), etc. *Per contra*, the work of Heiss, while also emphasizing the stagecraft of Molière, is an admirable and brilliantly written integration of the poet's life and works. It is worthy of a detailed review, which, for reasons of space, we shall have to defer. But noteworthy in the unfolding picture drawn for us by Heiss are such topics as *hofdienst und schauspielart, die phasen von Molières entwicklung, klassizisti-*

schœr bau der Femmes savantes, Alcestes temperament, the recognition (p. 104) that virtue and vice are inextricably mingled in the "real characters" of this *Comédie humaine*, the remarks (p. 183) on the transition from "individuals" to "types," etc. Had Heiss consulted Meredith, he would have realized better that only the existence of a cultivated society of men and women can really explain the high plane to which Molière elevated comedy. After all, Molière strikes for "social" justice (the source of his wit is *reason*), and his rule of "follow nature" has a perfectly clear background in the thinking of the Renaissance. I wonder whether Heiss, in his reaction against Wechsler, is not mistaking "philosophy" for metaphysics. One omission Heiss should remedy in later editions: while Hungary and Rumania are mentioned in their tribute to Molière, it is singular to find no reference to America! Obviously, German bibliography has not yet caught up.—W. A. N.

Georges Gougenheim's study of nearly four hundred pages on *Les Périphrases verbales de la langue française* (Paris: Société d'édition: *Les belles lettres*, 1929) is a valuable piece of work, both for the immense amount of material collected and for the care with which it has been studied and arranged. Taking for granted the inadequacy of the traditional eight "parts of speech" as categories, Mr. Gougenheim selects for investigation verbal periphrases of three types: temporal (here there are some seven species to be surveyed), modal (involving six chapters), and factitive (three chapters). We find in actual use not only the traditional Future, with all its shades of meaning, but at least four periphrastic substitutes—*devoir*, *pouvoir*, *aller*, and *venir à*—with the infinitive; moreover, there is a "near Future" which may be expressed in four ways, all in common use. Thus, prov. "Con fa vilans quan vol morir" means merely "quand il va mourir," in modern parlance. Similarly, "elle va rentrer ce soir" is a substitute, by no means recent in origin, for "elle rentrera ce soir." In making this notable contribution to our knowledge of modern French syntax, Mr. Gougenheim has been inspired by that epoch-making book, Professor F. Brunot's *La pensée et la langue* (1922), a work which has been very inadequately reviewed in America (see, however, Schinz' appreciative notice, MLN, XXXIX, 229-35). We probably owe it to Professor M. Roques that the author included in his survey a very generous section of Old French literature, both prose and verse, which again is a welcome departure. Material is also gathered from the long series of modern grammars, mostly French, to which a worker in Paris has access at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

In pages 2-16, we miss some treatment of the case of *aller à*+gerundive, which is so difficult to distinguish from verbs with the prefix *a-* (*croissant* and *accroissant*, *tarjant* and *atarjant*; see *Mod. Phil.*, X (1913), 444). One could wish that Mr. Gougenheim's publishers had accorded him a better grade of paper, for his work is of permanent value.—T. A. J.

In reviewing my book, *Heine's Views on German Traits of Character* (*Mod. Phil.*, XXVII, 243), Mr. Barker Fairley gives as his first reason for dis-

approval of the work, that I have "failed to recognize that the point of central interest . . . is not the 'German Traits' but 'Heine.' For, clearly, if we are primarily interested in German traits we do not restrict ourselves to Heine, since we cannot generalize on the strength of Heine alone; we simply use him as one source among many." This criticism of the subject matter seems to me wholly without point. The title of the book indicates that it is not intended to be another treatise on "That Man Heine," but the investigation of a particular attitude of this cosmopolitan poet, which, *ipso facto*, implies something of more than ordinary significance. Heine's views are of value not alone because they are Heine's but because, as I have attempted to show, they are more or less in accord with the judgments both of his contemporaries and of modern critics.

Mr. Fairley's second criticism is concerned with style and organization. "If Heine could return," he says, "and examine the classification of German traits . . . he would swear he was in Göttingen again and in need of another Harzreise." But as Heine's famous journey to the Harz was in search of an antidote for excess of form, the application of Mr. Fairley's humor is not clear. Already, in the sentence immediately preceding this one, he had objected to my thesis as being "amorphous." In regard to the style, I can only say that the book was never meant to be a work of art but merely an endeavor to record accurately Heine's views of German traits, collected from writings as varied in spirit as the *Buch der Lieder*, *Atta Troll*, *Lutezia*, *Reisebilder*, and so on. In regard to Mr. Fairley's favorable comment on my references to Heine's use of antithesis as being "quite suggestive," the truth compels me to disown originality for the suggestion. Heine's skill in this rhetorical device has been fruitful soil for his literary critics' bouquets ever since Wienbarg called attention to it, in 1834; and even the most casual reader of Heine could hardly have escaped a sense of drama in Heine's contrasts even if he did not think of the word "antithesis." On the other hand, the discovery of Heine's probable debt to La Fontaine, heretofore unnoted by Heine's critics, I lay modest claim to, and must acknowledge Mr. Fairley's acumen on this point.—JOHN A. HESS, *Ohio University*.

In *Il Libro del Cortegiano del Conte Baldessar Castiglione* (Milano: Hoepli, 1928. Pp. xx+461) Michele Scherillo has succeeded in offering us a very readable and attractive text, by breaking up the interminable paragraphs of the original (adhered to, hitherto, by every modern editor) into the divisions which a modern author would adopt. He has, however, done very little else to improve on the masterly edition of Vittorio Cian (1893 and 1909); and in fact provides far fewer notes, and less illustrative material. For the student of Castiglione and the *Cinquecento*, therefore, Cian's edition is still much to be preferred. Further, a very superficial conning of the book shows various minor errors and misprints: Equicola's *De natura* . . . (p. xvi) was of date 1525, not 1531; the early *Cortegiano* editions by the Giunti were of 1528, 1529, and 1531 (in the list of them, p. xvii, the second is omitted); we should read

Guidobaldo and not *Guidubaldo* (p. 17 n.); the *Indice dei nomi* ... is awkwardly inconsistent in listing Giuliano de' Medici under *G* and Giovanni de' Medici under *M*—exclusively, and with no cross-reference in either case; etc. Scherillo's *Cortegiano* is, in brief, a more attractive book than Cian's, but a far less profound.—WALTER L. BULLOCK.

The late *duecento* allegorical poem *L'Intelligenza*, a cura di Vittorio Mistruzzi (Bologna: Commissione per i testi ..., 1928. Pp. cexv+309. Lire 40), now appears (in the *Collezione di opere inedite o rare*) for the first time in a sound critical edition. Mistruzzi includes in his imposing volume an Introduction of more than two hundred pages, discussing previous studies on the poem, and also its MSS, sources, and author; the text itself is equipped with full critical apparatus, an Appendix of notes, a Glossary, and an Index of Proper Names, etc. Most significant, perhaps, is the fact that Mistruzzi, whose study of *L'Intelligenza* has evidently been profound and exhaustive, demonstrates very effectively that there are absolutely no valid grounds for attributing the poem to Dino Compagni; though the previous editions (the best of them, poor indeed as compared with the present volume, being that a cura di R. Piccoli, Lanciano, 1911) all accepted Dino as the author.—WALTER L. BULLOCK.

Miss Eleanor P. Hammond's *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey. Being Examples of Conventional Secular Poetry Exclusive of Romance, Ballad, Lyric, and Drama* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1927) covers the ground from Walton to Morley, giving us what Miss Hammond calls "the formal expression of the age." The result is a fairly consistent body of texts, which represents at its best the late medieval verse of the cultured classes in England, and illustrates the continuance of the tradition into the sixteenth century. The well-chosen extracts are supplemented by a general introduction to the field, introductions to individual poets and poems, full bibliographies, and ample and discriminating notes. The book thus offers a fairly comprehensive survey of this exceedingly important transitional period, with much that is fresh.—C. R. B.

The study of English writers belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century has become more intensive of recent years as their importance for the later period of great achievement has been more fully realized, but the printing of their works has lagged far behind. It is a good omen that a number of these early works are now appearing in modern editions. *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1927) inaugurates a proposed complete reprint of Sir Thomas More's English works. The present volume includes not only a facsimile of the 1557 text, but a modernized version and "An Essay on the Spirit and Doctrine of the Dialogue," by W. E. Campbell, the editor-in-chief; a collation of the three editions by Miss Beatrice White; and a historical Introduction and a study of the language by

A. W. Reed. The book is a handsome one, with ample provision for both scholar and general reader. It furnishes an interesting experiment, but the practicality of editing a work for the two types of readers seems doubtful. A volume that will appeal to all students at least is *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, with a Critical Text of the Original Treatises and the Letters* (Yale University Press, 1928), by John A. Gee. Though two of the three original tracts have already been reprinted in Herrig's *Archiv*, a complete edition of Lupset has long been needed. Unfortunately, Professor Gee does not print two translations which he accepts as Lupset's. Otherwise the edition is excellent. Besides a careful reprint of the earliest texts, there is an adequate discussion of the canon of Lupset's works and an important study of his life and his relations to the other humanists of the period. A similar piece of work, though not quite so thorough and significant, is *The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards*, contributed by Leicester Bradner to the "Yale Studies in English" (Yale University Press, 1927). This includes a detailed survey of the career of Edwards, a discussion of his plays and poems, and an Appendix in which all the short poems of Edwards are published, including two from Cotton MS Titus A xxiv, now printed for the first time. For the student of the drama the recent edition of John Christopherson's *Jephthah* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1928) is a welcome little volume. The Greek text has been edited from the two extant manuscripts, with a translation into English by Francis H. Fobes and an Introduction by W. O. Sypherd. F. M. Padelford has revised his edition of *The Poems of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey*, which appeared in 1920, producing what will doubtless be accepted as a standard edition of this important early poet (University of Washington Press, 1928). Typographical errors of the first edition have been corrected, the Introduction has been re-written in part, the texts have been newly collated, and reproductions of Holbein's portrait of Surrey and of a drawing which Holbein made of him have been added.—C. R. B.

In the study of popular literature one may examine a story which is a more or less stable combination of a number of themes or a theme which appears in a number of stories. Ordinarily, scholars have written monographs of the first kind. Miss Schlauch, in her *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens* (New York: New York University Press, 1927; pp. viii+142) has chosen to write the second kind. As an illustration of a less usual, although entirely legitimate, kind of study, her work is especially interesting. She points out that the figure of the accused queen is found in combination with accusations of infanticide and the jealous queen-mother as accuser,¹ and with the accusation of having borne animals and the jealous queen-mother or others as accusers. Passing mention is made of the Danae-story and of the Substituted Bride, although these heroines are, strictly speaking, persecuted rather than

¹ Only three examples are given (pp. 12-13), and these are instances of Grimm No. 3 (Aarne-Thompson 710). It is regrettable that Miss Schlauch made no use of Aarne's list (*FF Communications* 3), since the revision in *FF Comm.* 74 by Stith Thompson was then unpublished. The Buddhist legend (on p. 49) should have been cited here.

accused. In medieval romance these themes are often colored with definite accusations of infidelity and with chivalric details. The literature reviewed by Miss Schlauch is enormous; the consequent neglect of details is pardonable. The discussion, for example, of *Parise la duchesse* (pp. 100 ff.) suffers somewhat from failure to consult H. Schneider's *Die Gedichte und die Sage von Wolf-dietrich* (Munich, 1914); the same book would have deserved mention in connection with *Seghelijn van Jherusalem* (pp. 128 ff.). There are instances in which the facts might be explained in simpler fashion, e.g., two unwelcome lovers might arise in the story by fission rather than by contamination with the story of Susanna (p. 104). The proofreading of foreign titles (and even of English text) is regrettably careless.—A. T.

A task to which the European archivists of folk-lore have begun to devote themselves with remarkable success is the printing of their materials for primarily cultural ends. A generation ago, M. J. Eisen of Kronstadt (now of Dorpat) issued a score and more of such pamphlets, selections from his enormous Esthonian collections. Today these pamphlets are rarities of the first order; having served their purpose in creating an Esthonian national consciousness, they have been worn out in the process. A little later, the publications of the Gaelic League accomplished much the same thing in Ireland. Countries which felt the need for a national literature less keenly than did Esthonia of 1885 and Ireland of 1905 have been slow to realize the cultural value of their folk-lore archives. In the last few years, however, conditions have changed. Immediately after the final apportioning of Slesvig, the Danish archives issued an attractive collection of tales from the newly won territory: F. Ohrt, *Udvalgte Sønderjyske Folkesagn* ("Danmarks Folkeminder 21" [København, 1919]). The altogether admirable series, "Landschaftliche Volkslieder" (sponsored by the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv), has the definite aim of awakening and educating a national and local consciousness. Of this series, a dozen volumes have already appeared, containing characteristic songs from Alsace, the Moselle, Silesia, the middle Rhine, and elsewhere. Each volume is appropriately illustrated, and the tunes are given. The editorship of Johannes Bolte and of Hans Mersmann guarantees care in the matter of words and music. The latest enterprise taking its origin in a national collection of folk-lore materials and aiming to enrich the national life is, so far as I am aware, R. Th. Christiansen's *Gamle Visdomsord: norske ordsprog i utvalg* (Oslo: Steenske Forlag, 1928). This collection is based on the standard collection of Aasen (2d ed., 1881) and the materials in the Norsk Folkminnelag. A pleasing novelty in proverb collections is Christiansen's arrangement according to the Ten Commandments. Although such an arrangement is perhaps not to be advised for a scholarly book, it provides in this instance a suggestive outline. Inasmuch as all the books we have described give us access to unprinted sources, the scholar will welcome them as heartily as the cultivated reader.—A. T.

DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

DATE AND DEDICATION OF THE *ROMAN DE TROIE*

In an interesting article in *Modern Philology* for February, 1929, Professor F. E. Guyer, of Dartmouth College, under the title "The Chronology of the Earliest French Romances" attempts to redate thirteen important Old French works. I wish here to call attention to his argument for the date of the *Troie* and to question the fact on which he bases it. He says (p. 261):

As for *Troie*, it was dedicated (ll. 13457-70) to "une riche reine de riche roi" who must have been Eleanor of Poitou, queen of England. Henry II of England kept Eleanor in prison from 1172 to 1184; and we may be sure that the dedication was not written between these dates. The length of the romance, which is thirty thousand lines, would seem to imply that it was written after 1184 rather than before 1172.

Appearing to follow Constans,¹ Guyer (p. 261) represents the dedication as covering verses 13457-70, whereas it seems to me that it actually extends through verse 13494. I shall quote the complete dedication, which is interpolated in the midst of the story of Troilus and Briseïda. Troilus, youngest son of King Priam, and Briseïda, daughter of the prophet Calchas, are madly in love with each other. King Priam sends Briseïda out of Troy to the Greek camp and the lovers spend the night before the parting in making vows of eternal loyalty. They part in great grief. The poet here inserts some remarks about the fickleness and folly of women and then interpolates his so-called dedication, apologizing that because of his remarks he fears that he will be criticized by this woman who is an exception to what he has just said. The text reads:

- 13457 De cest, veir, criem j'estre blasmez
De cele que tant a bontez
Que hautece a, pris e valor,
13460 Honesté e sen e honor,
Bien e mesure e sainteé,
E noble largece e beauté;
En cui mesfait de dames maint

¹ *Le Roman de Troie par Benoît de Sainte-Maure, publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus par Léopold Constans* (S.A.T.F.; Paris, 1912), VI, 189.

- Sont par le bien de li esteint;
 13465 En cui tote science abonde,
 A la cui n'est nule seconde
 Que el mont seit de nule lei.
 Riche dame¹ de riche rei,
 Senz mal, senz ire, senz tristece,
 13470 Pousseiz avoir toz jorz leece!
 Salemon dit en son escrit,
 Cil qui tant ot sage esperit:
 "Qui fort femme porreit trover
 Le Criator devreit loër."
 13475 Fort l'apele por les feblors
 Qu'il sot e conut es plusors;
 Fort est cele qui se defent
 Que fous corages ne la prent.
 Beauté e chasteé ensemble
 13480 Est mout grief chose, ço me semble:
 Soz ciel n'a rien tant coveitee.
 Assez avient mainte feice
 Que par l'enui des preiçors
 En sont conquises les meillors:
 13485 Merveille est com rien se defent
 A cui l'om puet parler sovent.
 Quis trueve beles e leiaus,
 Uns des angeles esperitaus
 Ne deit estre plus chier tenuz:
 13490 Chiere pierre ne ors moluz
 N'est a cel tresor comparez.
 Ici porrons dire assez,
 Mais n'est or lieus: retournerons
 A ço que proposé avons.

Although no patron's name is mentioned, this dedication could be appropriate, as Constans said (VI, 189), only to the queen of France or the queen of England. His decision in favor of Eleanor rested on the dialect of the poem. But there are two other arguments in her favor: first, the allusions in the later lines of the dedication are rather obvious in view of Eleanor's reputation; and, second, the epithet of *riche rei* was generally applied to Henry and was at least implied by no less a person than Louis VII himself, according to Walter Map.² On the other hand, Louis was notoriously poor.

¹ Not *reine* as given by Guyer.

² *Master Walter Map's Book De Nugis Curialium*, Englished by Tupper and Ogle (London, 1924). See also Giraldus Cambrensis (Warner), VIII, 316, and Laviisse, *Histoire de France*, III, Part I, 46.

Constans¹ gives 1172-84 as the years of Eleanor's imprisonment, and it seems to be on his authority that Guyer takes these dates. But Norgate,² Eyton,³ and the Latin chronicles give another story.

Eleanor was arrested as she was attempting to escape, dressed as a man, from Aquitaine to the French court to take part in a rebellion of her sons against Henry in 1173.⁴ She was taken to England July 7, 1174, and was imprisoned at Winchester and Salisbury.⁵ From 1184 her surveillance was relaxed somewhat, and Henry took her over to the Continent on two occasions when it served his interest.⁶ But she was released only after Henry's death in 1189 by Richard Cœur-de-Lion.⁷ Under these circumstances it would be very difficult to make out a case for the appropriateness of the dedication to Eleanor after 1173 at the latest. Stephen's death made Henry king October 25, 1154. Henry and Eleanor were crowned the Sunday before Christmas the same year at Westminster.⁸ The dedication would have been impossible before then and improbable until about 1156 when Henry had succeeded in pacifying his kingdom and building up his wealth. It would have been most appropriate then and would continue to be more or less so until 1173, but not after that.

As to the argument in regard to the length (p. 276): The writer of a poem on Troy had as his models at least the ancient epics of great length. If he wanted to do justice to the episodes in them, he had to stretch out his work three to five times the four or six thousand lines of the *Roland* or the *Brut*. The dedication comes almost halfway through the romance, which may, conceivably, have been partly written before Benoît decided to whom to dedicate it. And if he composed at the rate, say, of one hundred lines a day, he could have written his thirty thousand lines in a year. There seems, then, no reason why the work could not have been composed between 1154 and 1173, and Constans' dating between 1155 and 1160 appears to me much more reasonable than Guyer's substitute.

¹ *Op. cit.*, VI, 190.

² Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1887).

³ R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London, 1878).

⁴ Norgate, II, 135; Gervase of Canterbury (Stubbs ed.), I, 242.

⁵ Eyton, pp. 177, 180; Ralph of Diceto, I, 382; *Gesta Henrici*, I, 72.

⁶ *Gesta Henrici*, I, 301, 304, 305, 313, 319, 334, 337, 345.

⁷ R. de Diceto, II, 67; Matthieu Paris, II, 116; *Gesta Henrici*, II, 74; Cotton, p. 82. For a more detailed account of Eleanor's imprisonment and release see a forthcoming study by Mary O. Cowper.

⁸ Norgate, I, 405.

If there existed originally a prologue or epilogue with a direct dedication, it was probably removed by copyists for reasons of economy or politics. The existing lines would survive because of their inconspicuous position in the middle of the text and their possibility of indefinite application. That they were a puzzle to some of the scribes at least is shown by the fact that they are omitted in eleven out of the twenty-seven manuscripts used in the Constans edition and that one manuscript (A') applies them to the Virgin, giving the last lines of the so-called dedication as follows:

Riche *fille* de riche rei,
Senz mal, senz ire, et senz tristece,
De vos nasqué tote leece
Le jor de la Nativité:
Vos fustes fille et mere Dé.¹

F. A. G. COWPER

DURHAM, N.C.
April, 1929

WHO ORIGINATED THE PLAN OF THE *ENCYCLOPÉDIE*?

The several works dealing with Diderot and the *Encyclopédie* are far from unanimous about the origin of this great enterprise. According to A. Collignon,² Diderot alone was responsible for it: "C'est Diderot qui en eut l'idée, c'est lui qui trouva un éditeur, des collaborateurs, des souscripteurs; c'est lui qui dirigea cette œuvre collective." Yet (p. 123) he quotes a letter of Diderot from which it is evident that he did not originate the plan: "Je proteste que l'entreprise de l'*Encyclopédie* n'a pas été de mon choix; une parole d'honneur très indiscretement accordée, m'a livré pieds et poings liés à cette énorme tâche. ..."

Assézat³ states that the idea of publishing the French *Encyclopédie* was originated by some Parisian booksellers, among whom were found Le Breton and Briasson, who had already employed Diderot, and put him in charge. The early project consisted in publishing nothing but a translation of Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*. Against this opinion, others have pointed out that the translation of Chambers was the work of John Mills and Gottfried Selius, two foreigners resid-

¹ *Trois*, VI, 25, 189.

² *Diderot*, p. 107.

³ *Diderot, Œuvres*, Vol. XIII, *Notice*.

ing in Paris. It is said that their work was finished in 1745, and was announced as the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire universel des arts et des sciences*, to be published by Le Breton. The unscrupulous publisher, however, broke the contract,¹ and put the Abbé Gua de Malves temporarily in charge of the collective work. He soon resigned and was succeeded by Diderot who proposed an expansion of the scheme.² He was responsible, it is said, for an *Encyclopédie* made up of original contributions by French scientists and men of letters. Yet here again Diderot's paternity of the idea of this enlargement has been contested. A. Séché and J. Bertaut³ attribute this important change to the fertile mind of the Abbé de Gua. Diderot proposed merely some further modifications.

The number of these conflicting claims is increased by those of another candidate for the honor of having originated the plan of the *Encyclopédie*. In 1751, the Dutch publisher, J. Néaulme, reprinted in *Le Petit Réservoir*, a periodical which he issued, the entire text of the *Discours préliminaire* of the *Encyclopédie*, stating that the original idea of this publication was his own. Years previously, he had taken steps to have Chambers translated, and not only translated, but changed and enlarged. He had even advertised the forthcoming work. In a word, he claims to be the godfather of the enterprise, which he had been forced to abandon when he learned that a group of Parisian booksellers had stolen his idea and were advertising a similar publication. He finishes by declaring that the Parisian booksellers had been warned of his rights of priority which he could defend in court, and that he was going to issue an edition of the *Encyclopédie*, a reprint with additions, apparently, at half the cost of the original.⁴ The text of his statement follows:

AVERTISSEMENT

Je me détermine à donner ici ce *Discours* tout entier, sur le témoignage de Personnes de mérite et de savoir qui me l'assurent excellent; c'est aussi Mr. d'Alembert, qui excelle dans les Mathématiques et dans la Littérature, qui l'a composé. Par là on pourra prendre une idée juste du *Dictionnaire*: et c'est mon intention d'autant plus volontiers que la première idée de cette Entreprise m'appartient.

¹ Mills brought a lawsuit against him at the Châtelet.

² L. Cru, *Diderot and English Thought*, p. 238 ff.; J. P. Bélin, *Le Commerce des Livres prohibés à Paris de 1750 à 1780 passim*.

³ Diderot, p. 50.

⁴ *Le Petit Réservoir*, V (1751), 113-15.

D'abord que le *Dictionnaire de Chambers* parut en Anglois, sa réputation me fit prendre la résolution de le faire traduire en François, et je l'annonçai en conséquence. Je ne m'en tins pas là. Je m'assurai de quelques personnes d'un savoir très distingué et d'un mérite reconnu, pour pouvoir faire mieux par leur secours et sous leurs auspices, et faire ainsi exécuter un Projet plus vaste que celui de Chambers même, en y comprenant celui d'Harris, etc. Il ne s'agissoit pas seulement de traduire, mais d'améliorer et d'augmenter. J'en étois là, lorsqu'il me vint en connoissance le premier Projet formé à Paris de cette *Encyclopédie*. J'avoue qu'il me fit suspendre pour un tems le mien: le chagrin d'être prévenu dans l'exécution d'une idée qu'il auroit été à souhaiter être unique, fut supporté par l'espérance de profiter du travail d'autrui, et de ne pas courir le risque d'échouer par une concurrence opiniâtre et non égale, en ne parlant que d'un libraire contre plusieurs.

J'ai à présent les plus grands avantages sur ceux de Paris. Je puis m'engager, sans ce même danger, de faire une Édition plus belle, plus ample et meilleure encore, et la donner, auprès de la moitié moins, et aussi par souscription. Que peut faire dans une Entreprise de cette nature 6 à 8 mois, disons même un an de différence dans la publication de chaque Volume, délai qui est soutenu d'ailleurs par l'espérance du mieux? Voilà ce que j'avois à dire. Il me sera facile aussi, si je le recherche, de transporter mon droit de copie à d'autres Libraires ou de m'en associer; enfin il ne me sera pas difficile, en quittant la Librairie même, de faire maintenir mon droit: et j'ose dire que j'ai été au devant des Libraires de Paris à tous égards, et qu'ils sont informés de mes prérogatives et avantages. Ainsi c'est eux qui n'ont pas voulu sentir le dommage qu'ils me portoient en premier ressort et qui ont méprisé le tort que je pouvois leur faire. Me voilà donc bien plus que suffisamment autorisé à n'avoir pas le moindre scrupule à leur égard, et à faire proposer au Public tous les avantages possibles; le voilà aussi prévenu ce Public.

If Néaulme's claim that he advertised the whole plan of a modified and an enlarged French *Encyclopédie* before the Parisian publishers took up the idea is accepted, neither these publishers nor Diderot nor the Abbé de Gua originated it. They all followed in one way or another the previously advertised plan of the Dutch publisher.

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